The Outlook

Volume 87 *Saturday, September 21, 1907* *Number 3*

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Published by the Outlook Company, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York. Chicago Office, Marquette Building.
The subscription price of The Outlook is Three Dollars a year, payable in advance. Ten cents a copy.
Postage is prepaid by the publishers for all subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, Tutuila (Samoa), Shanghai, Canal Zone, Cuba, and Mexico. For Canada $1.20 should be added for postage, and for all other countries in the Postal Union $1.56 should be added for postage.
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Features of the October Magazine Number of The Outlook (September 28, 1907)

¶ The article on the industrial side of the Standard Oil Company, by Mr. Harold J. Howland, of The Outlook staff, tells how oil is obtained, poured through pipe lines into refineries, refined, shipped all over the world, and distributed locally. There are very many illustrations from photographs expressly made for the article.

¶ "The Children's Library and the Home," by Mr. Montrose J. Moses, treats of some peculiarly interesting features of this now well-established branch of library work. There are many charming pictures.

¶ Under the title "Picturesque Aspects of the Jamestown Exposition" Mr. Henry Hoyt Moore describes many peculiar or unique features of the Exposition. The article is profusely illustrated from photographs by the author.

¶ Miss Grace King talks cheerfully and pleasantly of "Pastor Wagner in Paris," describing his new church and its simple life.

¶ "The Pedlar's Window," by Jeannette Marks, tells, with pictures, a singular story of the source of wealth of a great London church.

¶ "The Mistress of the Cook Shack," by Mr. C. M. Harger, is a readable sketch of harvest time in the West.

¶ There are a full-page portrait and sketch of Herbert Knox Smith, the Commissioner of Corporations, whose reports on the Standard Oil case have attracted much attention lately.

¶ In the series of Selected Short Stories with authors' portraits and introductions by Hamilton W. Mabie, there appears this month Mr. Cable's famous tale of Creole life, "Posson Jone'."

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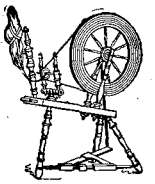

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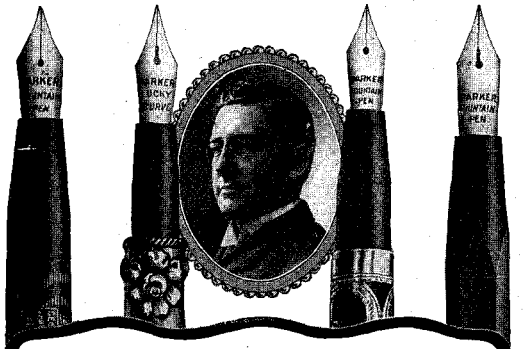

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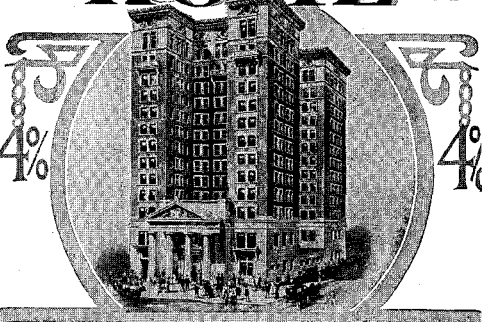

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The Outlook

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 21, 1907

Vol. 87 No. 3

Published by the Outlook Company, 287 Fourth Ave., New York. Chicago Office, Marquette Building. Lawrence F. Abbott, President. William B. Howland, Treasurer. Karl V. S. Howland, Secretary. Lyman Abbott, Editor-in-Chief. H. W. Mabie, Associate Editor. R. D. Townsend, Managing Editor.

$3 a year
10c. a copy

Race Riots on the Pacific Coast

The same causes that brought about the mob violence against Hindus at Bellingham, in the State of Washington, are responsible for the more extended race troubles at Vancouver, in British Columbia, last week. In part, all these outbreaks have been caused by resentment among laborers at the large and increasing immigration of foreign labor to compete with American labor; in part the cause was race prejudice, and this latter cause intensified that first named to a point where hostility becomes violent. That the problem is one of large extent is shown by the fact that since the outbreak in Vancouver a single steamer has arrived at that port having on board about twelve hundred Orientals, of whom 941 were Hindus, the others Japanese and Chinese in about equal numbers. The local authorities talked, rather foolishly one would say, of shipping the Hindus to the Canadian capital, Ottawa, as an object-lesson, but contented themselves with telegraphing to the Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, stating that there was neither accommodation nor employment for these Hindus and asking permission to house them in a hall at the expense of the Dominion Government. Sir Wilfrid replied that the Minister of the Interior would send a special messenger to Vancouver to deal with the question, and suggested that if the Hindus were paupers they were subject to deportation. The British Government has unofficially intimated that the problem was a Canadian rather than a British question. In Japan very little excitement has been exhibited. The spirit of the Japanese faction under the leadership of Count Okuma is shown by the fact that he has put out a sophistical argument to the effect that the Vancouver incident is far less important than that at San Francisco, because, as he alleges, in the latter case the anti-Japanese element had the support of the authorities. In point of fact, so far as international aspects are concerned, the two cases are precisely alike, while the outrages at Vancouver were far more extensive than those at San Francisco. At one time, indeed, it appeared as if something very like a set battle might occur at any moment in Vancouver, for the Japanese armed themselves and gathered compactly together in their own quarters, with the declaration that they would defend themselves if attacked. In the four or five attacks made upon the quarters of the Japanese and other Orientals, several men were seriously wounded and over fifty stores were wrecked, while many thousands of dollars' worth of costly china, silks, teas, and spices were scattered over the streets. The press reports say that the Japanese fought stubbornly and silently, that the Chinamen fled at the first sign of danger, and that the Hindus were most craven, crying in their flight like children. Diplomatically, the incident, serious and deplorable as it is, has an aspect almost amusing in that we now find that precisely such claims as the Japanese had against the United States for the San Francisco incident may be advanced by Japan against its treaty ally, Great Britain, while Great Britain, again, may advance such claims against the United States for the incident at Bellingham. Irresistibly this suggests the famous triangular duel in "Midshipman Easy," but the difficulty is one quite capable of being solved by common sense, rather than by powder and shot. In an editorial on another page some of the principles involved in the immigration of large numbers of Asiatic laborers are discussed.

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The Lusitania The largest steamship afloat, the Lusitania, of the Cunard Line, steamed into New York harbor on her maiden voyage on Friday morning of last week. She had made the run from Daunt's Rock, Queenstown, to Sandy Hook Lightship in five days and fifty-four minutes—six hours and twenty-six minutes less than the best previous run over that course, made by the Lucania in 1894. While the Lusitania's run establishes a new record for the Queenstown route, and in addition was made in the shortest time ever taken for a voyage from a European port to an American port, it does not entitle the new steamship to the place of supremacy among transatlantic liners. In comparing the record of voyages over different routes, the proper basis of comparison is the average speed per hour for the entire voyage. The Lusitania's average speed was 23.01 knots. In September, 1903, the Deutschland, of the Hamburg-American Line, made the run from New York to Plymouth at an average rate of 23.15 knots; in June, 1904, the Kaiser Wilhelm II., of the North German Lloyd, made the same run at an average speed of 23.58 knots. The highest day's run ever made was 601 miles, made by the Deutschland in 1900; the best day's run of the Lusitania was 593 miles. It should be taken into account, however, that this was the Lusitania's maiden voyage, and that records have practically never been made under such conditions. It is altogether probable that the big ship has speed possibilities which will not be fully realized until she has been in commission for some time. A point which should be remembered in connection with all transatlantic records is that they are measured between points well outside the harbors of departure and arrival. They do not represent, therefore, by several hours the actual time of the voyage as far as the passengers are concerned. This is especially true in the case of the Cunard Line. While the records of the runs of its steamers are computed from Queenstown, practically all of its passengers embark at Liverpool. The time of the Lusitania's passage from the Liverpool bar to Sandy Hook Lightship was six days, two and one-half hours; the time spent by its passengers from the moment they left the dock at Liverpool to the moment when they stepped from the dock in New York was probably five or six hours more. The great benefit which the Lusitania and her sister ship, the Mauritania, which will make her first trip in a few months, will bring is in the transportation of the mails. The mails from London will be delivered in New York, if the speed of her first voyage is maintained, at least five hours earlier than is possible by any other route, which in many cases may mean the difference of an entire business day—no small advantage. In size the Lusitania exceeds any vessel now afloat, and in comfort and luxury she is a worthy rival of the finest boats of any of the other lines. She is 790 feet in length, 88 feet in breadth, has a gross tonnage of 32,500, and a draught of 37½ feet. She is driven by turbine engines of 70,000 horse-power. The new boat seems to be remarkably free from vibration, and her steadiness appears to have reduced seasickness among her passengers to a minimum. Her arrival emphasizes once more the deplorable poverty of the United States in its merchant marine. The big transatlantic lines flying the American flag can be counted on the fingers of one hand, while the German and British lines are continually adding new boats to their already great fleets to take care of the American trade. The question of ship subsidies is also raised by the appearance of the Lusitania, for she and her sister ship were the result of an enormous subsidy from the British Government. The money to pay for their construction, to an amount not to exceed £2,600,000, was loaned by the Government at the low rate of 2¾ per cent. In addition, the Cunard Company was granted the sum of £150,000 a year for twenty years in appreciation of the building of the two steamships. This payment is entirely separate from the annual sum of £68,000 to be paid for the transportation of the mails. This action of the British Government is interesting as marking its entrance upon what seems to some a policy of protection, at least for a

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single industry. It is no less interesting to remember that the wonderful growth of the German merchant marine has been achieved practically without subsidies or special favors of any kind.

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A National Need

The first postal savings banks were established in Great Britain in 1861. The bill creating them was championed in Parliament by Mr. Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer. The system thus founded stands to-day as one of the greatest monuments to that distinguished statesman. In the United Kingdom twelve thousand post-offices receive deposits. The number of depositors at the close of 1905 was slightly under ten million, and the amounts standing to the credit of depositors was in excess of $760,000,000. The proportion of depositors to population was 1 in 4.3. The postal banks are designed for the use of small depositors only. Deposits may be made of one shilling or multiples thereof. Interest at the rate of 2½ per cent is allowed on deposits in excess of one pound. No person can deposit more than £50 in any one year, and no interest is allowed on amounts in excess of £200. From Great Britain postal savings banks have spread until to-day they are in existence in all the principal countries of the world except the United States, Germany, and Switzerland. Our neighbor to the north, Canada, established the system in 1868. The Hawaiian Islands, when absorbed by the United States, had a postal savings system, which was abolished shortly after annexation. More recently, however, what was taken away in one distant possession has been bestowed in another. A postal savings system has been in operation in the Philippines for more than a year. Why is it that the United States has not provided for its own citizens the beneficent institutions it has bestowed upon the Filipinos? The negroes of the South doubtless would respond to the civilizing influence of a great National savings institution quite as readily as the Filipinos. And the need would seem to be as great in the one case as in the other. Other special elements of our citizenship, notably the immigrants of recent arrival, would benefit greatly from a law making every money-order post-office, of which there are about 38,000, a depository for small savings. The subject has been much agitated, but hitherto without success. Postmaster-General Creswell, of Grant's Cabinet, made the first favorable recommendation in 1871. Other Postmasters-General renewed the recommendation, notably John Wanamaker, the merchant, Postmaster-General under Harrison, and Mr. Cary, a conservative Baltimore banker, who was at the head of the Post-Office Department in the early years of the McKinley administration. It was thought that success would follow the efforts to secure legislation put forth by Mr. Cary in 1897 and 1898. Lyman J. Gage, then Secretary of the Treasury, had much to do with blocking the legislation at that time. Mr. Gage's opposition, however, was not to the project itself, but to its timeliness. He thought postal bank legislation should wait until all uncertainty concerning the standard of value should be eliminated, as it now has been. After ten years of quietude, there are signs that the demand for postal bank legislation may again become acute. In Chicago, which was a center of postal bank agitation in 1897, there is now an organized movement to bring about the establishment of a postal savings system. It has recently been stated in the daily press that Postmaster-General Meyer, in his forthcoming report, is likely to recommend the early establishment of the system. It is to be hoped that this report is well founded. It is a reproach to the United States that it has not sooner established this beneficent system. A recommendation from the President in his next message to Congress would do much to promote early action. The establishment of banks in connection with the post-office for the safe-keeping of the small savings of the people would mark a fitting close for the Roosevelt administration. This is pre-eminently a conservative reform, which should appeal to the present occupant of the White House and the men associated with him in his administration. The effect of this institution, seemingly

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socialistic in its nature, would really be to foster individualism through the development of habits of thrift and the spirit of self-reliance. Properly viewed, the postal savings bank is primarily an educational institution.

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Educational Innovations in Boston

The public schools of Boston begin the educational year with some remarkable innovations. The course of study, thoroughly revised, practically amounts to a new course. The curriculum has been so carefully pruned that the time has been reduced from nine to eight years between the primary and the last of the grammar school grades. English has been made the great central feature of the course, all other studies contributory to it. The aim is to achieve the best possible output of practical, healthful, and valuable citizens. Arithmetic has been simplified and made practical in its relation to common facts of life. In geography particular stress is laid upon human life, commerce, and industry. The study is co-ordinated with history, and commercial geography is given a prominent place. Manual training and drawing are also co-ordinated. More time is given to spelling than ever before. Physical training has been almost revolutionized. Hygiene has been given precedence over physiology; great weight is given to a proper knowledge of the health of the home and the community. Beginning with elementary personal hygiene, pupils are taught correctness in food, exercise, posture, sleep, and habits. In the next grades personal hygiene that teaches how to make the body healthful, strong, and graceful has an important place. In the seventh grade comes for the first time a little physiology; then more personal hygiene, together with home hygiene. In the eighth grade great attention is given to public hygiene. With children thus thoroughly instructed there can hardly fail to be a great gain in the public health, individually and collectively, for the coming generations. The most radical step, however, is the adoption of a complete system of medical supervision. A medical member has been added to the corps of supervisors in the person of Dr. Thomas F. Harrington, of Lowell, a physician of strikingly progressive ideas. Dr. Harrington insists that the duty of keeping people in good health is an office of his profession fully as important as the treatment of disease. In a recent address upon the responsibilities imposed by the lately enacted Massachusetts law for compulsory medical examination of all children in the public schools, Dr. Harrington said that just as the detection and elimination of physical defects in the early school years means less mental backwardness among future pupils in the higher grades, so too will the lessening of high tension, nerve exhaustion, and unhygienic modes of life among pupils in the advanced classes guarantee a race superior physically and mentally. He maintained that there ought to be something more than yearly statistics of defective eyes, ears, noses, or spines among school children; that there was the duty of detecting the cause and minimizing its effect in every factor of the home life and the school life of the child tending toward retrogression, in order that future generations may gain a mental and physical high standard. Quite in this line, the Boston School Board has organized a corps of school nurses to look after the bodily welfare of the children. In each of the twenty-two most congested school districts a highly trained and competent nurse will carry out the plans of the medical supervisor. The nurses will keep a constant lookout for the children in the schools; will see that they keep themselves clean and that all their surroundings are conducive to health, that their desks fit them, that lighting, heat, ventilation, and general sanitation are as they should be. Injuries from accident will be promptly treated in school; the more severe cases taken to the nurse's home and reported to the supervising nurse. A duty of the latter is to see that such cases are properly treated at the home of the child. An important duty of the district nurses is to visit the homes of the children and advise mothers as to the proper care and cleanliness of their children. They will also examine convalescents at home before permitting their return to school. A reform like

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this indicates what a broadened significance educational methods are taking in the enlightened modern view of their proper scope. The fortunate rescue of the Boston schools from the corrupt politicians who lately controlled them is bearing fruit of great value to the world at large as well as to the public immediately concerned.

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The Bronx River Parkway

All who have at heart the æsthetic element in city building should take courage in the progress lately made in the effort to secure for New York City a noble boulevard connecting the northern portion of the metropolitan park system with the surviving natural beauties of the Westchester countryside. The Bronx River Parkway Commission was empowered by the last New York Legislature to obtain land by purchase for the creation of a parkway along the course of the Bronx, from the city park bearing that name to the Kensico Reservoir in Westchester County—a total distance of about fifteen miles. The cost of this improvement is to be borne by the city and by Westchester County jointly, the city paying three-fourths and the county one-fourth. Although nearly nine-tenths of the land to be taken lies in Westchester, it is primarily for the citizens of New York that the improvement is undertaken. Furthermore, the project involves much more than the building of a highway to the suburbs. Indeed, the scheme owes its inception in great part to sanitary considerations. The waters of the Bronx, which is a small stream, sluggish for long reaches, had become polluted to an extent that would soon render them an intolerable nuisance, if not an actual menace to health. Both the zoölogical and the botanical gardens of the metropolis, which are visited annually by more than two million people, and have cost the city $2,500,000, are situated in the park through which this stream flows. It was necessary that public authority should take steps to prevent further contamination, and the simplest method was to acquire ownership in the banks of the stream to its head waters. The utilization of the strip of land thus acquired for a boulevard at once suggested itself. It will afford New Yorkers the most direct access to the hills and meadows that Irving and Cooper pictured in the last century. The city dweller knows far too little of the wealth of "real country" that still lies almost at his door. For several miles along the Bronx, between the towns and villages, there are stretches of woodland and meadow which "improvement" has not yet disturbed. It is to be hoped that the Parkway Commission will succeed in forestalling all future attempts to deface the banks of this naturally beautiful stream. In naming the commissioners Governor Hughes chose three men who have shown commendable public spirit in seeking to protect the interests both of the city and of Westchester County—Messrs. Madison Grant, James G. Cannon, and William W. Niles. The northern terminus of the Parkway will be the 4,000-acre Kensico Reservoir of the new Catskill water system, for which land is now being condemned.

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The French in Morocco

A military exploit of a brilliant rather than a great character was accomplished by General Drude last week. Partly covered by a fog, the French commander managed to march his forces without discovery close to a Moorish camp about six miles from Casablanca. He shelled the camp, set fire to the tents, and the enemy was dislodged with considerable loss. Here, as before, however, the Arabs fought bravely, and yielded only to the superior weapons and military skill of the French. The diplomatic situation regarding the occupation of Morocco by the French remains much the same, although there has been some expression of opinion that everything done by France should be consistent with compliance at the very earliest possible moment with that provision of the Algeciras Convention which requires that the police force through which France was to keep order in Morocco should be composed of natives. Germany evidently intends to make no protest against the present movements of

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France, and the only unfavorable comment which has come from Germany has been that, while the landing of troops was unavoidable after the massacre of Europeans, it did not seem clear that the bombardment of Casablanca was justifiable. This view receives pretty strong confirmation from a letter published in the Glasgow Herald from a Scottish missionary in Morocco who was an eyewitness of the events at Casablanca. This missionary, Dr. Kerr, has lived many years in the country, and he asserts that in many ways the French residents and officials have continually irritated the Moors and provoked them to anger. Dr. Kerr states that no further outbreaks occurred after the massacre of French and Spanish workmen on July 30, and that when the bombardment began on August 1 there was absolutely no immediate provocation for it. He denounces it as contrary to the usages of civilized war and as "wicked and unjustifiable," adding that the British merchants in Casablanca will probably sue the French Government for damages caused to their property by what they consider an unnecessary bombardment. The punishment of the Moors concerned in the murder of the eight workmen, says Dr. Kerr, no one could object to, but instead of this the punishment took the form of an unprovoked massacre of persons many of whom were entirely innocent. The details of the affair as he gives them are certainly deplorable, and if his assertion that the landing force of the French fired the first shot is true, the succeeding episodes described are unpardonable. One of these episodes may be quoted here:

> I saw two young women walking as quickly as they could. . . . Suddenly a volley was fired into them by the Spanish marines. They fell, but picked themselves up, and took refuge in a ledge of a wall. After waiting a few minutes they made to return, when another volley was fired at them, and they fell again. . . . One of these brave daughters of Ishmael refused to flee without taking with her the "khaik," or outer garment, which fell from her [thus leaving her face uncovered, contrary to Moslem law]. She turned back, picked up her garment, and fled as fast as she could, bleeding all over.

Such incidents as this need more than a formal or military excuse.

Peace Congresses

The second anniversary of the signing of the treaty of peace between Russia and Japan was observed a few days ago by the unveiling of a tablet commemorative of the Peace Conference of 1905 in the church at Portsmouth where the Russians worshiped. At Munich, the capital of Bavaria, the sixteenth International Peace Congress assembled last week. Among the delegates represented on the various committees, Dr. Fullerton, of Columbia University, and Mr. Edwin D. Mead, of Boston, are members of the Committee on Current Questions, while Dr. Trueblood, of Boston, Secretary of the American Peace Society, and Mr. Joseph Shippen, of Seattle, have been prominent in the deliberations of the Judicial Committee. At The Hague the fifth plenary sitting of the Peace Conference occurred last week, at which important rules regarding warfare were adopted. In the first place, it was agreed that hostilities must not begin without previous unequivocal notice having been given, either in the form of a declaration of war, setting forth its motives, or in the form of an ultimatum with a conditional declaration of war. This agreement may modify the custom, which has lasted through two centuries and a half, of beginning wars without previous formal declarations. Unfortunately, however, those who have been striving for as much comprehensiveness as possible have not been able to commit the Conference to a statement of how long in advance such declaration must be given. The Conference also declared that a state of war must be notified without delay to the neutral Powers, the effect for the latter beginning after they receive notice, which is allowed to be communicated by wire. Unfortunately again, however, the giving of such notice was not made compulsory; instead, a clause was added declaring that the neutral Powers cannot protest against the possible lack of this notice if their knowledge of an existing state of war can be established. The next provision will reassure all the weaker nations, since it establishes the inviolability of the territory of neutral states. In this we can see the influence of John Hay, who, as Secretary of State,

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at the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War, secured the neutrality of Chinese territory. Another provision declares that, while belligerents may not establish wireless telegraph stations in neutral territory, in general they may use means of communication belonging to neutrals or private companies. The exception justifies Japan's protest during the late war against the establishment by Russians of wireless telegraph stations on the Chinese mainland in order to convey messages to Port Arthur. While the final results of the Conference are recorded only at plenary sessions, an important advance towards a realization of the proposed new international court deserves chronicling; namely, the agreement on two principles as the basis of allotment of judges: first, the equality of states in the election of judges; and, second, the selection of judges free from all consideration of their nationality, the only guide to be the commanding position of the individuals as jurisconsults. Fearing that the equality of the small nations with the great would not be recognized in this matter, the President of Venezuela threatened to withdraw his delegation from The Hague, a decision promptly changed upon a complete understanding of the proposals. President Castro's attitude is peculiar in view of the fact that it was his country which nine years ago was anxious to recognize our Government's claim to superiority by urging us to espouse her cause as that of an inferior nation in the boundary dispute with Great Britain.

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The Socialists Declare War on War

During the past three weeks two interesting Socialist Congresses have been held—the first, that of the French at Nancy; the second, the International Congress at Stuttgart. The first of these meetings gave a chance to the French Radicals among the Socialists to emphasize their dissociation from militarism in general, and from French nationalist movements in particular. The principal leaders at Nancy were M. Jean Jaurès, the well-known parliamentarian, who has long been endeavoring to guide French Socialists into all possible ways of law and order compatible with what he deems a Socialist creed. The more radical leader was M. Gustave Hervé, formerly a college professor, and the author of a history of France from which accounts of battles have been as far as possible eliminated. Despite the conviction of the majority of the members of the Congress that it is the duty of citizens to defend their country against attack, at the succeeding International Congress at Stuttgart M. Hervé did not hesitate to declare that the Congress should by decree cause the desertion of soldiers in times of peace, and should bring about the insurrection of the working classes of any countries whose governments should declare war upon each other. The more practical M. Jaurès introduced a resolution decreeing the use of the whole energy and effort of the working classes and of the Socialist party for the forestallment and prevention of war by every means, from parliamentary intervention, public agitation and popular manifestation, even, as a last resort, to the general strike and insurrection. It will be seen that such a resolution was one in which both Radicals and Moderates could unite, with the exception of the last phrase. The Moderates deny that internationalism necessarily involves anti-nationalism. They eliminated the general strike and insurrection clause, and added instead a demand for the use of such means as the situation should place in their hands. As to colonization and imperialism, the Moderates introduced a resolution declaring their opposition to colonization to be not one of principle, for colonization "might become a civilizing agency under a Socialist régime;" but they were outvoted by the Radicals, and an unqualified declaration against colonization was adopted. As the German Socialists are mostly enlisted in the ranks of the Moderates, the vote is interesting. It marks the turning-point in a hitherto dominating German influence. The change is due, however, quite as much to the fact that in England, Austria, and Russia there has been a relatively far greater gain in the Socialist representation in the Parliaments of those countries than

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in the Reichstag, England now having thirty Socialists in the House of Commons, Austria having over seventy in its Parliament, and Russia having had about one hundred in the Duma.

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The Trade Unions Congress

At the International Socialist Congress the resolution bespeaking cordial relation and mutual support between the Trades Union and Socialist parties was appropriate in view of the fortieth British Trade Unions Congress, which held its sessions at Bath, England, immediately thereafter. The majority of the five hundred members who attended this Congress, however, rejected two Socialist tenets; namely, that there is no utility in political campaigning unless workingmen are prepared to repudiate all compromises with political parties, and that workers must be primarily Socialists and only incidentally trade unionists. They have abundant reason to maintain themselves as a labor and not necessarily a Socialist Congress. For they see a larger number of labor members of Parliament than attended as delegates the first Congress four decades ago! No less than thirty-two members of Parliament were in attendance at the Congress, and not only these but others made addresses characterized by great practical intelligence as to matter and much clarity and force as to manner. Forty years of Trade Union Congresses have certainly been a good training-school for debaters. The presiding officer, Mr. Gill, was once a newsboy and then a cotton-worker. He is now in Parliament, and made an effective executive officer of the Congress. In his presidential address, surveying recent legislation, he naturally placed a principal emphasis on the passage of the Trades Disputes Bill, on which the House of Lords apparently did not dare to enter upon a conflict with organized labor. But trade unionists have no intention of resting on their laurels. An interesting list of reforms to be achieved should probably, with one exception, enlist the sympathy of many outside of the Socialists who believe in social amelioration. The reforms enumerated are a reduction of working hours in all trades, old-age pensions, work for the unemployed, compulsory state insurance, legal restriction of systematic overtime, reform of the poor law, and land nationalization. The last subject is, of course, the probable exception above mentioned.

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Child-Saving

If one asks what are the most important questions that confront penologists the world over, he can find no better answer than the array of questions presented for the consideration of the International Prison Commission which has just held its session at Lausanne under the presidency of the official representative of the United States, Mr. Samuel J. Barrows. The special object of this meeting was to arrange the programme for the Eighth International Prison Congress, which meets at Washington in 1910. In order that this programme might be international in character, treating not merely matters of local importance, but problems belonging to modern civilization, requests were sent to national and local prison associations, to bar associations, and to prominent jurists and penologists in Europe and the United States, asking them to suggest the most important and most fruitful questions relating to the prevention of crime and the treatment and correction of the offender. The responses, covering a wide field of territory on both continents, were grouped into four classes: questions of criminal law and judicial procedure; questions relating to the treatment of offenders; measures for the prevention of crime; and measures for the protection and salvage of children and minors. It is significant of the deep interest which the children's court has awakened in Europe that nineteen societies in France, including the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, the General Society of Prisons, and the faculties of law of Paris, Lille, and Montpellier, and several of the most prominent tribunals in France, asked to have the whole subject of the organization of children's courts elucidated and discussed. A similar interest was shown in Switzerland and Germany. The whole question of child-saving has be-

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come invested with a new importance. Two other questions adopted in this department relate to the measures to be taken to combat the idleness and vagabondage of children in large cities, and for the protection of children born out of wedlock.

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Penological Problems The influence of American ideas is also seen in the placing on the programme of the indeterminate sentence, the probation system for adults, and the reformatory system. It is now recognized that correction and reformation are fundamental aims of penal administration in all civilized countries, and an opportunity will be given at Washington to compare the different methods, influences, and systems of different countries in applying reformatory principles. A question of deep practical importance is how to correct the offender without imposing too heavy an economic burden upon the family. While the court formally pronounces a sentence upon the prisoner, it is the wife and mother who in a great number of cases has to endure the hardship of the penalty. The husband suffers the loss of liberty, but he is sure of shelter and food; the family may be in danger of losing both. Relief is furnished when the probation system is applicable, by permitting the man to work out his fine without imprisonment; and when imprisonment is necessary, relief could be secured by assigning a portion of the breadwinner's earnings in prison to his family. The Commission has further proposed two important questions for study and investigation. One relates to the best method of construction and equipment of modern penal institutions. The second relates to the rôle of the penalty of death in different countries. Capital punishment has been formally abolished in a certain number of countries and practically discontinued in others for periods of time running back twenty-five or fifty years. It is now possible to see whether the abolition of capital punishment in these countries has been followed by an increase of crime or by any disastrous results, and whether public executions as an exemplary punishment have been attended with any beneficial results. These are matters lying within the domain of fact rather than theory, and it is facts rather than theories which will settle what is still an open question in a number of countries.

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Sully-Prudhomme The philosopher among the French poets died last week. Alfred de Musset, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, already belong to a past epoch. A more scientific age finds its expression in the art of Sully-Prudhomme. His "Justice" and "Bonheur" are rightly known as the two great French philosophic poems of our times. The first, to which the poet doubtless owed his election to the French Academy, insists upon the justice to be found in universal nature; the other describes the progress of humanity towards the ideal state of supreme happiness, attempted first by curiosity, sensuousness, and science, but afterwards by virtue, suffering, devotion, sacrifice. The opinions expressed in these poems were crystallized in action by the poet during the Dreyfus excitement. In his capacity as a member of the Council of the Legion of Honor, Sully-Prudhomme courageously defended Zola's brave letter in Dreyfus's defense, despite the declaration of a majority of the Council that Zola must resign from the order. The poet's action was the more remarkable because in literary and other ideals he seemed absolutely opposed to Zola. In every one of Sully-Prudhomme's books of verse or criticism one may find revealed a mind which took little repose in the things that pass; on the other hand, there is constant reiteration of duty and of the voice of conscience, a witness of the supernatural destiny of man. Thus no recipient of the Nobel prize realized better its founder's idea: in 1901 Sully-Prudhomme won the prize even over such a competitor as Tolstoy; others were Ibsen, Mistral, Echegaray, Freytag, Rostand, and Sienkiewicz. During the preceding year Sully-Prudhomme's "Testament Poétique" had appeared in time to fulfill one of the conditions of the bequest of the Swedish inventor, Alfred Nobel, which was that the literary prize should be given to that

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writer who during the year immediately preceding the award had produced the most remarkable literary work in the sense of idealism. The bestowal of the prize awoke universal approval; it had long been realized that in the healthy reaction from morbid pessimism no one had given voice to a more reasonable optimism than had Sully-Prudhomme. If the matter of the poet's work is thus remarkable, his manner is hardly less so; though, like most Frenchmen, he was sensitively open to all impression, he was singularly temperate and reserved in its expression. This quality of style was as noticeable in his books of criticism as in his books of verse; indeed, no writing seems exacter, severer, more chastened. While this was largely due to the poet's temperament, it may also have been in part due to his early study of engineering and its natural effect upon precision of style. René François Armand Sully-Prudhomme was almost seventy years old. He has left a superb literary output. But by his death France and the world have sustained a grievous loss, for the influence of such a man was never more needed.

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A Levitical Tradition in English Politics

With the passage of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill it might be supposed that the old controversy over the question as to whether a man might be allowed to marry the sister of his dead wife would subside. But no; the controversy has simply taken a new turn, and in some respects has become more acute than before. The bill, as The Outlook has recorded, made civilly legal a class of marriages which heretofore has been contrary to the law both of the State and of the Church. By one provision of the bill, however, the clergyman of the English Church—who is by virtue of his ecclesiastical position also for some purposes an official of the State—is given the liberty of declining to perform such marriage service. Taking advantage of this permissive provision, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter, openly urged the clergy not to solemnize such marriages or further their solemnization in church. This is practically equivalent to a command, for it serves notice upon the clergy that those who do sanction such marriages will offend their ecclesiastical superiors, and that means the end of promotion. A number of bishops, including the Bishop of Salisbury, the Bishop of Birmingham, and the Bishop of London (who is now visiting this continent), have expressed their disapproval of the law, and have denounced the unions which it allows. On the other hand, public sentiment in England is heartily in favor of the law, and approves as entirely consistent with the highest morality the marriage of a man with his deceased wife's sister. Of itself the law is not very important; it directly affects only a small proportion of the population. But it has become important by serving as an issue in which the English ecclesiastics and their sympathizers are drawn up in opposition to the mass of English people. It is a curious fact that at a time when the Church of England as an Established Church is in a position far from secure, the prelates of that Church should choose to withstand public opinion by insisting upon a rule which has no other conceivable moral authority than an inference from a law which is contained in the old Jewish Levitical code. These prelates, by their advice, are setting the authority of the State Church against the authority of the State which maintains that Church. By their action they are apparently doing the most effectual work in enlisting new recruits for the movement for Disestablishment. Hitherto that movement has had its strength mainly in the Nonconformists; it has aroused very little, if any, interest in the people who are affiliated with no church or religious organization. Now it is these people of no church, especially the working people who are growing into great political power in England, who are supposed to be especially affected by the bill and strongly in favor of it. Thus the bishops have chosen to create new enemies among those who are indifferent, and to alienate many who are naturally friends. If the bishops had taken this action for the sake of maintaining a great and obvious moral principle, they would deserve the highest honor for

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their courage; but, as a matter of fact, they have taken this action for the purpose of maintaining an ecclesiastical tradition peculiar, we believe, to the English Church—a tradition, moreover, which can be termed moral only in accordance with the most mechanical interpretation of morality. It is significant, too, that this policy which promises to alienate from the Church the common people of England follows the action of the same ecclesiastics who, to get control of the common schools for the purposes of the Church, made an effort which was calculated to alienate the same elements of the English population. The language of the ecclesiastical opponents of the law has been extreme; indeed, the words they have applied to the form of marriage which it allows, and which is recognized in British colonies as well as in other countries, are such as practically to brand those who countenance the law as promoters of the vilest moral degradation. It is hard for Americans to understand the intensity with which such a controversy can be carried on; it is hard for them to understand how such an insignificant question can assume such great proportions as a political issue.

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Oriental Immigration

A patient has a high fever. What does the physician do? He reduces the fever, of course; but he does more. Regarding the fever as a symptom, he makes his diagnosis and then treats the disease. Riot breaks out. What ought the authorities to do? Restore order, of course; but more. Seeing in the riot a symptom, the Nation should study the situation, ascertain the cause of the riot, and adopt a policy of radical cure.

There has been disorder on the Pacific coast. It is not enough to repress the violence and to send the offenders to jail. It is more important to discover what conditions occasioned the violence, and to adopt a course of action which will remove the cause.

The recent outrages committed upon Orientals in Vancouver, British Columbia, show that the agitation against the Japanese in San Francisco was not a mere local eruption, but was a symptom of a condition that extends beyond the National boundaries. Even if, as has been both reported and denied, the troubles in Vancouver were aggravated by the influence of agitators from the United States, the significance of the troubles remains unchanged. Such agitators could not appeal to feelings which did not exist. As a matter of fact, such movements as this for the exclusion of competitors of an alien race are affected but little or not at all by merely political divisions. They are the product of forces which operate in the same way wherever conditions are alike. Wherever the race that calls itself Anglo-Saxon confronts Oriental civilization, the same phenomena appear. In California, Oregon, and Washington, where the people of the United States first encounter Asiatics, the sentiment for the exclusion of Oriental labor is stronger than anywhere else in the Nation. The same sentiment has been found in Australia, which has by a rigorous law refused admission to all Japanese, except under the most stringent limitation. In Australia no Japanese can settle on the land nor even enter a school. He cannot set foot on the territory except under bond to depart within a definite time. Yet Australia is a portion of the British Empire, which has not only a treaty but an alliance with Japan. Now it appears that in British Columbia a sentiment similar to that which is expressed by the law in Australia will not admit of repression. While many British journals were criticising the American Government for allowing the issue to arise in California, the London Spectator saw the magnitude of the problem. In its issue for the 13th of last July it said:

> Stated in its simplest and most concrete terms, the problem comes to this: Can the Anglo-Saxons and the Japanese, maintaining their mutual respect for each other, manage to divide the Pacific world between them in such a way that they may keep their laboring populations from mixing, and yet at the same time practice in their relations true friendliness and freedom of intercourse? Circumstances have forced the Americans to be the pioneers in working out one portion of this problem. No one can say how

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soon another series of accidents may bring us face to face with similar difficulties.

Within two months that series of accidents has brought Great Britain face to face with the problem in an acute form. The United States now shares with the mother country the duty of studying it.

The problem has two aspects. The one is racial, the other economic.

Behind the race antipathy exhibited on the Pacific coast there is a sound feeling. In this country we already have one serious race problem. The presence of the negroes in the South has caused civil war, the one great failure of our judicial system, and the most extravagant of our governmental disasters. We want no second race problem until we have either solved the first, or made it clear that we can solve the second. The solution of neither race problem is within sight. If, after the experience of one such problem, the American people should admit another, by opening undiscriminatingly their doors to the East, they would be unpardonable.

Behind the economic antipathy to Oriental laborers there is also a justifiable feeling. Where there is established a system of protection, it is only just that it benefit not only the capitalist but also the laborer. If the American laborer must contend as best he can with the laborer whose standard of life is lower, then the American manufacturer, in fairness, ought to be let alone in his contest with the foreign manufacturer who does not pay so much for his labor. The Outlook believes that a condition of such open competition as has prevailed between the States of the Union would be wholesome between the nations of the world. But at present the protective system prevails and apparently is firmly established in America. So long, therefore, as American capital is protected, it is a benefit for the whole country to have American labor protected. And certainly if there is any body of laborers against which the working people of America need protection, it is the coolie labor of Asia. The fact that the Japanese and Chinese laborers enter industries in which there is a scarcity of whites does not affect the case, for it is not the direct loss of jobs, but the lowering—or at least the changing—of the standards of living that brings injury to the mass.

In dealing with these two aspects of the problem, the racial and the economic, the United States must have regard for both its rights—that is, its obligations to its own population; and its duties—that is, its obligations to the people of other nations.

No nation can disregard its rights. Among the rights of every nation is the right to determine the character of its own civilization. As a man has a right to determine whom he shall invite to be a guest in his home and whom he shall exclude, so the United States has the right to determine what sort of people it shall admit to its territory and what sort it shall bar out. It can draw the line at any place it deems wise. And it will exercise that right wisely when it is guided by the motive of preserving its own civilization. As the householder may say, I will admit no one who is either hurtful or disagreeable, so the nation may say, We will exclude every one who will either bring in the vices of another civilization or prove an uncomfortable and uncongenial resident. This is not to say that every other civilization is inferior. We have enough vices of our own to occupy our efforts on behalf of reform; we have difficulty enough now in assimilating related peoples. We do not want the vices of even a superior civilization or the discomforts of living with the most excellent of incompatible strangers.

For the exercise of our rights Japan cannot complain against us. In the first place, Japan cannot ask of the United States what her own ally, Great Britain, refuses. As an offset to California there are Australasia and British Columbia. Moreover, Japan cannot demand that the United States do what she is unwilling to do herself. The Imperial Government has not only debarred Chinese laborers, but has deported them. Indeed, Japan has a more stringent law against American laborers than the United States ever had against the Japanese. By an imperial ordinance Japan excludes from every part of its territory, except the foreign settlements and mixed residential

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districts, all foreign laborers, unless they have the special permission of the administrative authorities. The same rights exercised by Australasia and Japan herself can be legitimately, and perhaps ought to be, exercised by the United States. Whether they shall be so exercised is at least a matter for fair and deliberate consideration.

No nation, however, can afford in the exercise of its rights to disregard its duties. And an elemental duty is that of courtesy. In excluding Orientals the United States ought not to act as if it regarded them as inferiors; it is sufficient that they are so vastly different that their admission would do harm. We might well say to Japan, We admire your civilization, we envy you your many great qualities, but we cannot risk any more problems of assimilation and adjustment; we must decline to admit any such numbers of Japanese as to threaten to bring about either a large distinct alien population or a large modification of our own blood; we shall, however, be glad to welcome as guests those Japanese who desire to visit us. This is an attitude compatible both with the maintenance of our rights and the performance of our duties.

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Public Control and Security of Investments

Efforts to impose necessary public regulations upon certain forms of business have almost uniformly aroused the cry that business generally was about to be wantonly injured and the security of investments impaired. This was notably true of the railway rate legislation enacted by Congress. The attempt to turn the light of publicity on the management of insurance companies aroused the same kind of opposition. So likewise did the legislation to secure better inspection of meat products. Governor Hughes's measure for the regulation of the public utility corporations of New York City and State was bitterly assailed from some quarters as an attack upon investments in the particular kinds of property affected.

The champions of regulation could only make reply that the effect of honest regulation must be to give stability and enhanced value to legitimate securities; that, in the long run, the only sufferers from the adoption of a policy of effective public control would be the speculative promoters. The long experience of Massachusetts bore out this assertion. Stock-brokers say that the securities of Massachusetts corporations bring a somewhat higher price on the market, other things being equal, because of the long-established regulative laws of that Commonwealth. But few similar appeals to experience in this country could be made, for the reason that most States and cities have only recently undertaken to grapple seriously with the problem of public regulation. Such developments as there have been, however, give support to the policy of regulation.

No sooner was the Federal Meat Inspection Law in operation than the great packing-houses began to advertise that their products were "inspected and passed" by the United States. Government inspection, in other words, was recognized as an aid to the sale of such products as are fit to be put upon the market.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of the point under discussion is afforded by recent developments in connection with the Chicago street railway situation. Chicago's traction problem has been the subject of bitter controversy for a decade or more. Representatives of the companies contended long and bitterly that the "reformers" were hurting business; that under the ideas promulgated by them street railway securities would prove undesirable investments. The ideas of the "reformers" have prevailed. The traction settlement ordinance approved by the people on a referendum vote last April embodies the principal features of policy combated so bitterly for years by the street railway interests.

What is the result? The traction managers now argue that the securities based on this ordinance should be especially attractive to investors, though they are obliged to confess that the promoters' profit in connection therewith

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may be less. In order to make improvements it was necessary for the City Railway Company to issue bonds to the amount of six million dollars. Despite the unfavorable condition of the money market, these bonds, which bear five per cent interest and were offered at 98, were disposed of speedily. In the circular-letter of Mr. T. E. Mitten, President of the company, descriptive of the security for the bonds, it was stated in italics that the franchise grant on which the bonds rested had been "approved by a vote of the electors." In other words, a franchise grant that can command the approval of the voters on a referendum possesses an added stability that should be taken into account by investors in making bond purchases. Promoters might make larger profits out of franchise grants which the voters would not approve, but the securities based on such grants would have less assured stability, and consequently would be less attractive to conservative investors. The Harris Trust and Savings Bank, a conservative bond house, in recommending the City Railway bonds to its customers, said: These bonds "are, in our opinion, after a very thorough investigation, one of the safest investments with which we are familiar." This opinion is expressed of securities based on a franchise that contains practically all of the "model" features called for by present-day public-spirited students of franchise policy. The grant is subject to termination at any time by city purchase. It provides for full publicity of the business of the company. It requires a division of profits with the city. The point is that such rights as the company is given under the grant are clearly defined and well understood, and presumably will be respected both in spirit and in letter by public opinion in Chicago, whereas more liberal franchise terms secured by speculative promoters through unscrupulous means would be continually liable to public attack, should opportunity offer.

Real investors want securities based on fair relations with the public, because of the greater stability which such securities afford. Only the speculative promoters profit from conditions that are affected adversely by reasonable public regulations. In all discussion of this subject it is enlightening to keep clearly in mind the distinction between the investor and the promoter. The interest of the investor and that of the general public in this matter are very similar. Both need protection from the speculative promoter. The outcry against regulation put forth in the name of investors is usually inspired by the men who may be classed as speculators.

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The Woman Who Went to Church

The Ladies' Home Journal recently sent a woman on an experimental tour through the metropolitan churches. Her reception varied from warmth to frigidity. The inference naturally to be drawn from the record of her experience is that the churches which received this woman coldly were blameworthy, and that those which received her warmly were praiseworthy. Such an inference is based on the notion that one who goes to a church service to worship has the right to think of her personal treatment.

The conception of the church service as an occasion for promoting the interchange of social courtesies among its members and for extending social courtesies to others places on a low level, if it does not altogether destroy, the motive of church attendance. It is based on the conception of the church as a club. It assumes that the church is owned by its members, that those who attend its services do so upon sufferance, and that it is therefore the business of the members of the church to make any stranger who enters its walls for worship feel like an honored guest.

It is the weakness of American Protestantism that this club conception prevails among the Protestant churches of this country. No one would think of attempting to take the social temperature of Roman Catholic churches by applying to them a journalistic thermometer. In a Roman Catholic church no woman would expect personal attention unless she had made her wants known to the priest or to some one who could take

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her case to the priest. To the credit of Roman Catholics be it said that they attend church services for the purpose of worshiping God. They do not expect to receive a welcome in church, any more than the user of a public library expects a welcome when he sits down to read. The real test for the social value of a church would be the experience of a newcomer who, desiring really to participate in the life of the church, made his presence known as one who had a right to share the religious institutions of the community. But this test is not here under consideration.

The experiment of this journal's representative cannot be accepted too seriously. If she had gone to church to hear the truth, or so much of the truth as the preacher might give her, if she had gone to worship God, she would not have been greatly concerned whether she was warmly or coldly received. She did not go to listen or to worship. She went to see whether people would pay any attention to her old clothes. As a test for the true character of the churches she visited, we do not see that her purpose was valid. Indeed, would not most respectable poor people spurn as an intrusion and an impertinence any action based on the assumption that they go to church for the purpose of securing attention? Is it proven, indeed, by this test that any poor woman who should go to any of these churches to ask plainly for assistance would not receive it? Nevertheless, the experiment is not without its value.

It reduces, in the first place, the club conception of a church to an absurdity. It shows that in the city, at least, few large churches can conform to this conception consistently. In other words, it indicates that, however stanchly Protestant Christians may maintain their church privileges as though they were the privileges of a club, they are forced by modern conditions to forego their duties as dispensers of church hospitality. This experiment, in the second place, helps to emphasize, by contrast, the conception of a church as a community institution. It shows not only where the present weakness of Protestant churches lies, but also the direction in which they must move if they would indeed become the churches of the people.

Protestantism has weakened itself by casting away the dignity of the Church; it has weakened itself by bidding for patronage. All sorts of people criticise it on this its own assumed position. If the churches will but say boldly and frankly, Those who enter here for worship need expect no social attentions, for this is the place where man draws near to God and God draws near to man, more would attend churches than now. Avowedly based on democracy, the Protestant church finds its principal weakness in its lack of democracy. The assumption that a visitor to a church desires attention is an assumption that places the visitor in a position of inferiority. If the churches were to abandon altogether their position as religious clubs, formed primarily for the intellectual entertainment of their own members through the sermon, and for the æsthetic entertainment of their own members through their architecture and music, they would no longer be open to the criticism which their present position invites.

The only way, therefore, by which American Protestant churches can justly declare that such criticism as is involved in this journalistic visitation is undeserved will be by making clear that their purpose is not to provide social entertainment of any kind through their religious services, but rather to give to the community and to all who desire it the opportunity for hearing the truth and for worshiping the Eternal.

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The Spectator

"Sax hundred veesitors cam here frae Lunnon yesterday," said the red-haired Scotch six-footer, in full Highland uniform, who stood on guard at the stone-paved entrance of Stirling Castle. The Spectator, remembering the torrential rain of the day before, expressed his sympathy for the tourists. But the giant Highlandman looked uncomprehending. A rainy day in the United Kingdom is so ordinary a thing that no one considers it. Whether because of the weather, after all, or because of the law of averages,

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there were no visitors in Stirling that day to speak of, for which the Spectator was duly and truly thankful. Scotland in August is usually packed edgewise with tourists, and in coming through the Trossachs two days before, it had been difficult to secure places on the coaches or at the hotel tables. But to-day was an off day in "Historical Stirling," and the mighty Highlander was alone in his glory, and quite willing to talk to the single stranger within his gates. Like other large and glorious guardsmen, he appeared to know very little—but that may have been Scotch caution. The Spectator, having loaded up at the station with a local guide-book and all the local postal cards that seemed worth while, found himself in the embarrassing situation of giving information instead of receiving it. "The Bruce? ou, ay, yon's the moniment," the Highlandman admitted. "If the buik says he stands lookin' ower seven battlefields, nae doot he is, but I canna say so of my ain knowledge. Bannockburn? ou, ay, it wud be off there somewhere," he went on, cautiously, but refused to commit himself as to Sheriffmuir, Cambuskenneth, and the rest. One cannot have everything, however, and to be as big and broad and brawny, and have as shining and spotless a white coat and buskins, as gorgeous plaid socks and kilt, as splendid a sporran, as characteristic a Scotch cap, and as magnificent physical proportions as this Stirling sentinel is surely all that can be asked from one man.

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It is always a joy to go poking around in ancient places without a guide, with maps and pictures; and this the Spectator did, filling himself up with solid paragraphs of "Historical Notes on Stirling Castle." The name of Stirling probably means "strife," from *Strveling*, which is its name in ancient manuscripts. It was a good fit, that name. Anybody who lived in Stirling Castle—from the early Caledonians, who had a circular fort there in B.C. days, to the English in the time of Prince Charlie, the Young Pretender—had to fight to get it, and then fight to keep it. The Picts took it, the Romans, the Scots, the Northumbrian kings, the Scots again, the English, and then the English and Scots kept taking it alternately for half a dozen centuries. The Castle Hill has run with blood down through the centuries as it now runs with water after a rain. Those who have lived there have always enjoyed the finest view in Scotland; but the rest of their enjoyment there has been troubled, to say the least.

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The Douglas Room, at the further end of the Castle, is in a most picturesque group of towers, rocky stairs, and flanking buildings, alluded to by Scott in his "Lady of the Lake"—

> "Ye towers! within whose circuit dread
> A Douglas by his sovereign bled."

James the Second, the sovereign aforesaid, was born in Stirling Castle, and once kidnapped from there by Crichton and taken to Edinburgh. He came back to Stirling, however, and held his Parliament there. The eighth Earl of Douglas, with whom James had had various slight unpleasantnesses, very foolishly trusted himself in the Castle. The story goes that he was at supper in the Douglas Room, in 1452, and that the black bull's head, which meant death, was placed on the table before him, after which he was stabbed by James's own royal hand in the tiny room adjoining, known as the King's Closet. His body was thrown out of the window and buried in the garden below. The window, with its modern stained glass bearing the Douglas arms and the Morton motto, does not look large enough, to the Spectator's mind, to throw a man in armor out of. If the eighth Earl was anywhere near as big as the Spectator's Highland guardsman, it would have been a tight squeeze to do it. However, there is the tradition, and there is the window, and there is the fact that in 1798 a skeleton in ancient armor was found buried in the garden beneath. There is no doubt that somewhere in this tower the Douglas was made away with, and certainly the Douglas Room is a most interesting place, with King James's chair and John Knox's communion-table, and the pikes and helmets and drums from the old battlefields, and the pretty Highland

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lassie who sells postals and photographs and napkin rings and paper-weights and pincushions and plaid-bound Burns's birthday books, and heather, and the other regulation Scottish souvenirs that inevitably accompany and flow from a historical Scotch spot.

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The Spectator went down into the Douglas Garden, and there was captured by a guide, who explained the view to him. This view is equal to a historical chart. Several of the "We Are Seven" battlefields may be seen. Mary Queen of Scots and Queen Victoria both have leaned over this wall, and given their names to its two "lookouts." Heading Hill lies at one side, with the Beheading Stone on its top, protected by an iron grating of great size and strength, to keep tourists from carrying it away piecemeal. It is not as large as Plymouth Rock, but has fully as much history firmly attached to it. The bars being far enough apart, the visitor pining for fame still manages to scratch his initials on it in places. The authorities, with commendable politeness, have inscribed on the tablet beneath it:

THE BEHEADING STONE
PROTECTED BY THE PUBLIC

whereas every tourist knows in his heart that "protected *from* the public" is what is meant. But the present wording rouses better feelings, perhaps, even in the hardened souvenir-snatcher, and so completes the protection of the bars.

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At Bannockburn the Spectator found that they trust to bars alone. They have the Bore-stone (a block of trap rock where Robert Bruce pitched his standard on that memorable day) clamped fast with an arrangement like a raised area-grating. It was fast disappearing until they protected it. The new flagstaff with the thistle rampant on its spreading base is also protected by a chevaux-de-frise for fear of popular enthusiasm. The tram goes to St. Ninian's, which is the earliest church in the district, founded in honor of a saint of the Culdees, whoever they were. A steeple, standing by itself, was all the Spectator could find of the old church. Prince Charlie's men used St. Ninian's as a powder magazine when they besieged Stirling Castle, which they did not succeed in taking—poor unlucky Pretender! Before they retreated, they blew up the magazine, and incidentally the church, leaving only the steeple tower. The village of St. Ninian's is a queer, bygone sort of place, and from the end of its principal street the Spectator took the right-hand road to the battlefield of Bannockburn about a quarter of a mile away, and the field of Lauchisburn, where James the Third was defeated by his son and his nobles, and killed treacherously just after the battle. He lies buried at Cambuskenneth Abbey, under the shadow of the great tower of King David the First, and the modern tomb containing his remains is also carefully railed in. The Spectator does not blame the Scotch, with all their experience of tourists, for railing in and chaining down anything and everything; but still he thinks that tomb would be safe, and is able to take care of itself.

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The Spectator, after two battlefields, felt satisfied, and did not attempt to see the other five, except by passing that of Stirling Old Bridge on his way back, by tram, to the Wallace Monument. There is the beautiful old bridge, built in 1400, and there Prince Charlie's unlucky Highlanders were held in check by Argyll. Hamilton, Archbishop of Scotland, was hanged on this bridge, the Spectator's book said, for his share in the murder of the Regent Moray. As the Stirling Old Bridge was the only one joining the north and south of Scotland for four hundred years—"the key to the Highlands" it was called—it was a conspicuous and warning place to hang anybody. It is older than the Castle itself—the oldest thing in Stirling except the western end of the old church. The Wallace Monument seemed sadly modern after it, being indeed only about half a century old. From its top, however, the view is magnificent over plain, river, and mountain. The keeper had the seven battlefields (also visible from here) by heart, and pressed them on the Spectator, from Bannockburn to Falkirk, along with countless facts about Wallace, Bruce, and Prince Charlie. It would take a determinedly resisting mind to get away

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from Stirling without learning the main facts of Scottish history, on the principle of "line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little," wherever one goes.

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The Spectator remembers visiting an old church somewhere in Germany which has been divided into two parts, for the use of Protestant and Catholic congregations. Here in Stirling there was no question of Catholics at the High Church of Stirling, after the Reformation had once gripped the Scotch soul. But one hundred years later, the Reverend James Guthrie, minister of the first charge (and afterwards a martyr for the Covenant), would not allow a minister appointed to the second charge to preach. Firmness being a characteristic of martyr minds, nothing could be done to persuade him, and the difficulty became so acute that the church was split, figuratively and literally, into two. The more ancient half, or West Church, with the tower, became one church, and the East Church, to the right of the great transept entrance, was fitted up as another. Nowadays the division is healed, and the great Gothic entrance is common to both churches. The door on the right leads to the East and that on the left to the West Church, and a coupon ticket, for twopence, admitted the Spectator to both in turn. He saw the spot where John Knox preached the coronation sermon over little James the Sixth, who was only thirteen months old—the youngest king ever crowned, as far as the Spectator's knowledge of history goes. The tower is twopence more to ascend, but the old bells are worth it. The oldest and finest one is pre-Reformation, and has the "Hail, Mary" on it. It probably came from Cambuskenneth Abbey, and far surpasses the other three in the richness of its deep music. A Dutch post-Reformation bell hangs beside it, to correct its influence, with "*Sole Deo Gloria*" on it, and "*To Stirling Town I doe belong*." The Highlanders, after Falkirk, occupied this tower, and celebrated their ineffectual victory by ringing the bells. General Monk, in Cromwell's day, occupied tower and church and churchyard, and the Castle cannon were trained on the tower, with the result of numerous marks of cannon balls upon the masonry. The church militant was the rule in those days.

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In the old churchyard, however, the most interesting monument is not in the least militant. The Spectator, like everybody else, had read in his Macaulay the story of the Wigton martyrs—how Margaret Maclachlan and Agnes Wilson—the latter only eighteen—were tied to stakes at low water in the bay of Wigton in 1685 and drowned by the rising of the Solway tide, because they would not abjure the cause of the Covenant. The monument is not a tasteful one, and the inscription is stilted and artificial, quite different from the quaint, vivid old epitaph of the martyrs' own time:

"Within the sea, tied to a stake,
They suffered for Christ Jesus' sake."

But the heroism of these two simple, devout Covenanters annuls all mistakes in the commemorating of it, and stirs the heart with an irresistible appeal. Margaret, the older, bound nearer to the flood in the hope that her last agonies might terrify the younger girl into submission, prayed and sang verses of the psalms, with a lofty courage, until the sea choked her voice. By a cruel mercy, she was then unbound and restored to consciousness, while pitying friends and neighbors urged her to yield. "Dear Margaret," they pleaded, "only say, '*God save the King!*'" She gasped out, "May God save him, if it be God's will." "She has said it—indeed, sir, she has said it!" her friends cried to the presiding persecutor. "Will she take the adjuration?" he asked. "Never!" cried Margaret. "I am Christ's. Let me go!" Again she faced the tide, and again it closed over her, while Agnes, unshaken by all that had passed, awaited its advance with silent but absolute courage, and died with the same triumphant faith. On all the seven battlefields was no greater courage than this. The glories of Stirling are many; the deeds of Scotland's history are numberless and great; but the Spectator's most lasting remembrance of Stirling, after all, will be the Martyrs' Monument, and what its story stands for in the Scottish nation's character and ideals.

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SAN FRANCISCO AS IT NOW IS

BY KEW

THE history of San Francisco will hereafter be dated "before the fire" and "since the fire," for the earthquake played so insignificant a part in the catastrophe that it is rarely spoken of. The aspect of the burnt district is yet inexpressibly dreary, in spite of all that has been done, and is made more so to the imagination by the few standing walls, archways, iron balconies hanging by one brace, and the picturesque shells of large stone houses or churches. The blackened skeleton of some rare garden tree, the calla lilies and the nasturtiums that have survived and bloom amid broken stone steps, crumbling walls, and at the base of palatial entrances, add desolation rather than cheer to the scene of devastation. Eleven miles in an automobile is but a flash in time and distance, but eleven miles of ruined homes, gardens, public buildings, and streets seems an expanse beyond conception, and eleven miles of piles and masses of stones, bricks, iron columns, telegraph wires, pipes, and lesser débris to be cleaned up and carted away, is pretty nearly an unimaginable task.

Although the fire burnt up several tidy schemes in easy money-making, it was a devil's own gift to the labor unions and to the crafty and grafty civic officials, inspiring both to renewed energy—an inspiration that neither needed. Between these two greedy bodies rebuilding has been constantly held up and impeded by a tangle of complications. Graft has worked both for and against rapid improvements; if you paid money enough, you could evade municipal ordinances and build more quickly; but if you did not pay, or tried to go on with work without engaging graft-paying contractors, construction was delayed or held up by a more than strict enforcement of civic laws. Some of the trade unions have entrance fees that are prohibitory in size, and others, like close-communion Baptists, don't commune with any outside their own body. Members of unions from other States are seldom allowed to join unions here, or to work in their own trades without joining. Artisans who came to help rebuild the city have lost their time and money, and there are individual cases coming constantly to one's notice where skilled mechanics are doing anything possible for mere subsistence. I have in mind the case of an expert plumber who has gone to work in a garage for fifty cents a day because he and his family had been without food for two days; and this happens when the final completion of all buildings is retarded by lack of plumbers and plasterers! In the winter wages reached fictitious heights, and even hod-carriers, by working extra hours, were able to earn ten dollars a day.

A few of the new buildings are permanent sky-scrapers with iron or steel frames, but the larger number of them are of wood, built with the single aim of quick erection and all possible space that will bring in all possible rent money; but truth compels me to state that all rents are *im*possibly high. Many of these frame buildings have a facing of brick, with cornice and trimmings of painted tin or zinc; others have a cement finish put over wire netting that first covers the sheeting of boards. Anything more unbeautiful than this straight-away surface of dull gray cement cannot be imagined, and it certainly affords no protection from a fire that might be started from the inside. Now and then a temporary building is so charming that one wishes the more pretentious ones could be abolished.

Since the spring, refugee camps are being gradually done away with and public squares and parks are returning to their before-the-fire order and greenery. In these camps, shacks of boards were rapidly run up in uniform size of about twelve by eighteen feet, with two rooms, and were set closely together in long, even rows with narrow roadways between and a plank laid down to walk on. Living in small rooms and in such close proximity to one another has led

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to worse demoralization than that in overcrowded tenement-houses. The large sums of money poured in here by sympathizing people at home and abroad made the continuance of these camps easy, and refugees did not exert themselves to do anything toward more permanent homes until sanitary considerations forced the authorities to order removals. The loss of housework and individual home life had a deteriorating influence on character, and men and women who formerly were respectable and industrious have become lax and irresponsible parents. Mothers drink, young girls have drifted into immoral lives, and children are growing used to uncontrolled lawlessness. A civic administration or a citizens' committee should have foreseen this result and have used the extra money to help re-establishment of homesteads instead of lazy continuance of the camps. Lately there was discovered a man living for nothing in camp who had rushed down from Seattle as soon as camps were set up after the fire, and another evicted tenant was the owner of two comfortable apartments which were bringing him an income that he was thriftily saving while he could live at public expense.

But speaking of sanitary conditions induces me to remark that the filth here is simply unpardonable. I haven't seen a public broom lifted since I've been in the place. Waste papers blow into your face and lodge in masses where not scattered by the wind; dried horse-droppings fill every gutter, across walks and each side of them, and lie two or three inches deep on the sidewalks before the shops on Van Ness Avenue, which is the fashionable shopping quarter since the fire; old black skirts will lie in front of large, well-kept private gardens for six weeks, and indescribable mounds of refuse are collected by the wind against curbings and at the side of all roadways. That this is entirely unnecessary is shown by the hotels, which each morning have a man sweep and wash the walks. This same thing is done on a few streets by the servants of wealthy householders, and these walks are in perfectly good condition on the windiest days. It is nothing but shiftless indifference on the part of individuals and merchants. Whenever you talk of this condition every one says, "Oh, the burnt district dust is perfectly terrible!" But I am not talking of the perfectly excusable dirt of the burnt district, but of the perfectly inexcusable dirt in districts miles away from the confusion caused by the fire, where dirt seems always to have been a normal condition. If each shopkeeper or housekeeper should do as the hotels do, the city would be cleaner than most. I'm told that nothing but the daily wind which blows one's temper to shreds saves us from death by pestilence. Wind is free, and private sweeping has no graft in it.

Whenever too much publicity is being directed towards acts of the corruptionists, some individual or body diverts attention by the introduction of a counter-irritant, and the suffering people are made hot over a new complaint. In the winter it was the Japanese in the schools; in the spring, finances and strikes. The carmen's strike, it has been admitted, was a prearranged plan, so that its settlement might redound to the glory of discredited officialdom and in a measure restore confidence in them; but the strikers, not being in the pay of officials, took the matter into their own hands, the big men lost control, and the rougher elements in the unions began rioting and killing. The Governor's quick declaration that troops would come, with orders to use ball and powder on the first round of firing, stopped bloodshed. Since then things have lagged along in disputes and discussions between head men, with sporadic acts of violence directed towards the new men or rolling stock, and with general inconvenience, an inconvenience especially felt by the laboring classes themselves. The union fined any member found using street cars when they were started with new men, and provided "union wagons" for transit, men paying ten cents, and women and children riding free in the daytime. Any old thing on wheels has been drafted into service, from the one-horse shay kind to two and four horse express wagons and drays, with a few huge automobiles on which have been mounted platforms for seats. Planks have been laid lengthwise of the wagons and covered with old, ragged quilts to sit on,

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and a limp, clumsy ladder drags from the back end. When you see these union wagons jolting their occupants through successions of deep holes, over piles of débris, around humped-up street car tracks, open sewers, and masses of building materials, you feel that those who use them are indeed slaves to principle, or the bosses; and to go miles in them from outlying districts the laborer needs must lose two or three of the early and late hours of the day usually given to rest or recreation. One would think inconvenience would break down resolution. Oakland carmen are required to contribute a grudging three dollars a week toward expenses, and the unions incite boycotts wherever they feel their interests have suffered. A young woman with an invalid mother to support and care for used the union wagons until she was ill from the jolting, and when forced to resume the use of the more smoothly running cars, all the provision dealers in her neighborhood united in a boycott against her. Some of the families of the Custom-House clerks have suffered from this same persecution because the clerks used the cars instead of the union wagons. At present all cars are running, and every one is talking of the beautiful manners of the new conductors, who as yet treat passengers with the politeness of well-bred men. A very good looking gentleman, wearing immaculate patent leather shoes, collected ten fares the other day, and my attentive ear discovered that he rang up only five. I'm told the corporation encourages this cheerful peculation, which helps to keep the cars running and the men happy, and that it is satisfied with a percentage of the fares turned in to the company. A man wearing a conductor's cap accomplished the clever feat one morning of boarding a crowded car at the end away from the real conductor, and, collecting all the fares in sight, he stepped off before it was realized what he was doing. Of course the act was possible only because the new men are not yet in full uniforms.

It was more fortunate than comfortable for us that winter rested contentedly in the embrace of summer, as the laundries have been on a striking vacation, which made it a bit inconvenient for mortals who love to pretend it is warm enough to wear tub toilettes. It took more time than money to get any laundry done, which is saying a great deal, as the scraps one could not do without cost from five dollars up. A funny story is told of a brisk young woman who blew into the city with an imperative need for laundry to be done quicker than quick. She interviewed her hotel clerk, who politely explained that there was a strike on and all animate and inanimate things were on short commons as to changes in coverings, and he could not promise the return of clothing in any given time—two weeks, a month, perhaps Christmas. The young woman swept by his arguments in disdain; said she knew she could get her laundry done immediately; she would just telephone for herself; but the patient clerk explained that the telephone girls were on a strike and that she could not telephone. Nothing daunted, she said she would get into a car and run down to a laundry; but again she was held up by the announcement that there were no cars, and, all automobiles being out, there was nothing to do but go East or *wait*.

In December, as I slowly wended my way to the Coast on a Santa Fé flyer, I read in my daily papers such alarming tales of the Japanese invasion of schools and labor that I anticipated finding them swarming o'er the land like a destructive horde of locusts, and my mind had become so imbued with inflammatory accounts of native hostility that I arrived fully expecting to witness the sudden death of all stray Japanese. The first time I was on the street, seeing a benevolent-faced old Japanese gentleman leading a child by the hand coming towards me made my heart jump into my throat, and I found myself glancing hastily around to see if any one noticed them. I even had the subconscious thought that I might have to fall in beside them to take their part. In reality these two aliens were as unnoticed and safe as I; and as time has moved on I have become conscious that the six thousand or so of Japanese residents here are very much in evidence in all pursuits and in daily affairs. Their banks, their book, fruit, grocery, and

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merchant shops are all over the city, and numberless laundries supply a tremendous need, as do the intelligence offices.

That Japanese in schools will contaminate our children is one of the funniest of ideas to one who knows them as I do. The Japanese child of all classes is invariably taught self-control, discipline, and good manners at home, and he has less to learn in school than have our children. He takes the school-room simply and literally as a place where mental knowledge is acquired, and he seriously and quietly applies himself to this work. As I think of the stupid and useless bother this question occasioned, my thoughts run back to life in Japan, when, on the first day, as I was adjusting my belongings to Japanese shelves which ran behind wonderful gold-lacquered doors, I suddenly heard a loud and fervid singing of "John Brown's Body." Thinking my mind or hearing had gone mad, I rushed to the iron-barred opening upon the street, expecting that I might see some American sailors going past, but, on the contrary, found a lot of Japanese boys and girls on their way home from school keeping step to the music, time, and English words of "John Brown." That same evening, as I sat down, a rather lonely, forlorn self, to read by the light of a Rochester burner, a child's voice singing "Marching through Georgia" came to me through the bamboo screen which divided my inside piazza from the next garden. Perhaps it did not add to my cheerfulness, but it did seem unexpectedly friendly. A gentleman who asked his child how the Japanese children behaved in school here received the reply, "Why, papa, they are the dearest little things, and behave better than any of us." And a bookseller reports that Japanese students hang around his shop looking over his most serious and technical books, and that they buy books on political economy, science, and the higher mathematics, instead of stories, as do most of our own boys.

In spite of the furor against Japanese which the labor unions are more or less responsible for, the truth is that California needs the Japanese, who are born and trained in agricultural pursuits and fruit-picking, and there's no sense in ruining the fruit industry of the State through race prejudice. Every one, north and south, admits that fruit is rotting on the trees and vines because there are no pickers. So-called white men will not pick strawberries, olives, or grapes. Just why they will pick apples, pears, and peaches I've never been told. The entire Japanese question might die a natural death if it were left alone.

When I hear the lamentations over the loss of those "dear Chinese immigrants," I have to smile, as my unruly memory recalls a day within my time when California's voice was raised in as mighty a howl against these self-same coolies as against the Japanese—a memory I cannot now verify, because those special newspapers are burned up. Had the Japanese the wit to cultivate queues and wear Chinese clothes for a while, they would be received with open arms by housekeepers and fruit-growers, and no one but a heathen Chinese be any the wiser.

We buy peaches, pears, plums, apricots, and apples by the pound or piece, as if we were in London; and if that is not absurd in a very particular fruit country, I don't know what is. For one accustomed to buying peaches in New York State by the half-bushel, to pay five and eight cents apiece for them is trying. And think of the littlest baby cantaloups being ten cents—the kind that Eastern marketmen would hand out as a sample!

California fruit really is more abundant and inexpensive in New York than in San Francisco, and, except for oranges, hotels furnish more and better puddings and pies than varieties in fruit. The loganberry—the Burbank hit between a raspberry and a blackberry—is supplied more often than either of the straight fruits, and isn't as good. Plain California red raspberries are the best things known. The loganberry is red like the raspberry, oblong, larger and longer than the blackberry, and has the same old hard core in the center, enlarged to suit new surroundings. Strawberries are more plentiful in Japan and China than here, and no Californian knows how to make strawberry short-cake—a thick

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loaf of sweet cake, two or three strawberries, and whipped cream never made one. Hot, generously buttered biscuit, light as a feather, smothered in quarts of crushed strawberries and sugar with fresh unwhipped cream, is an article in pure food unknown to the West coast, and, alas! one that only a successful grafter could afford to have on his table. The blessed "effete Easterners" don't have to pay in strawberry season from forty cents up for little bits of half-pint boxes of big strawberries on top and infinitesimal ones underneath.

All prices have been promoted along with other things, and although material greed is no greater here than elsewhere, it is more obtrusive. You find it in everything, from tales of the children of working people who steal small sums from their parents, and of guests at afternoon teas who report having had all the money save the car-fare nickel taken from a purse left in the wrap, to the practice of the best theaters that permit the use between acts of an unsightly curtain of local advertisements. Even the man with a head as smooth as a billiard ball must pay forty-five cents for a hair-cut. Arithmetic itself has zigzagged, for everything that's three for ten cents is five cents for one, and the shops that do not accept pennies at one counter will at another, or the enterprising little maid who waits on you will make the check an even sum and pocket the uneven cents of change.

But who cares how insulting prices may be where money is easy among all classes, where the silken frou-frou of luxurious living has spread broadcast o'er the land, where the room-maid of a morning lightly refers to a box at the opera, where the washer-lady by your side in the shop buys a ten-dollar-gold-piece worth of wide sash hair ribbons for her little daughter or a forty-six-inch weeping-willow plume for herself? Or where, in the orchestra chairs at a Schumann-Heink concert, a scrub-lady in ermine and diamonds chews gum and converses fluently upon the great singer's répertoire and valiantly translates *Wag*ner's moods and tenses for the benefit of her companion, who, though a mere scrub-lady's man, is in correct evening attire? There is no doubt but those who make easy spend easy.

There are many ways of California distinctively different from the East. Dinners are heavy, with a number of meat courses, like the custom prevailing in the Orient; the favorite game is usually a small duck, one being served to each person with a slice of paprika-powdered orange instead of lemon—again an Oriental mode; and at men's dinners smoking begins with this course, and men linger much longer at the table. In hotels there is a common custom of serving all kinds of salad immediately after soup or a first course of anything, and fruit comes before pudding or sweets. All California grocery stores might be named buffet-grocery, for in the center of the shop is a counter of food prepared for cooking or already cooked. In the best places on Saturdays this array of dainty, well-prepared food is as appetizing as a fine supper-table, and would delight the heart of servantless New England towns. There's genuine home-made bread, white and brown, coffee-cake, rolls of new butter lying on green leaves, whole boiled salmon, and bowls of creamy mayonnaise and of potato salad by its side. There are also huge baking dishes of scalloped oysters, tomatoes, macaroni, and potatoes; boneless duck restuffed back into its own skin; veal loaf; calf's foot, wine, and fruit jellies; cold ham and roast beef; smoked fish like that found in Russian towns; Belfast ham at fifty cents a pound, the like of which our own Virginia has never approached; sweet pickles, apple sauce, and "all kinds cheese" are a few of the items that I can remember, and each and all so good-looking that I should never know what selection to make.

Many habits and expressions are no doubt Western rather than Californian, but they have a flavor and breeziness that are as amusing and interesting as they are unexpected. In a hotel dining-room a near-by neighbor, in refined and graceful lace robe, with girlish contours still showing in the matured lines of face and figure, is in earnest conversation with her table companion. Suddenly her voice is raised, and you overhear, "And, by golly! he did." A charmingly

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pretty young woman in tasteful costume will come into a shop and say to your clerk, "Hello, Johnny." Johnny replies, "Hello!" and the girl goes on with "Oh, say, how much is that?"—that being brown silk with inordinately large white polka dot. "One twenty-five," answers Johnny. "Oh, gee! haven't you anything cheaper?" "Yes, some at one dollar." "Nope; too much for my blood." "Say" opens all conversation, "Gee" carries it on, and profanity punctuates.[1]

After a number of visits to a typewriter supply shop, you unexpectedly run on books for sale, and remark, "Oh, you keep books here." "No," replies the clerk, "we don't keep books—that is, we try not to keep them." No Eastern clerk would ever have thought of such repartee. There's a vast friendliness in these shops unknown to us; the clerks wait on you with composed slowness, entertain you while you wait for change, and jolly the cash-girl with such remarks as, "Can't wait so long for you next time, sweetheart." Such a clerk is winningly unconscious that there is such a thing as good form, and he is entirely spontaneous without the slightest intention of being familiar. In many of the shops two cash-girls are stationed in a Juliet kind of balcony, where between times of occupation they hang over the railing, chew gum, and discuss the appearance of the shoppers below. Sometimes the clerk will carry Eastern money to the cash-girl in her balcony, and carefully explain, "*This is a paper bill; it's all right.*"

An excellent thing about living in San Francisco is that it is so perfectly delightful to live outside of her; and never did suburban life exist under more advantageous circumstances—plenty of country to grow in and up on, easy of access, barring fogs, and a ferry service that is the best ever. Large, clean passenger boats where no horses are allowed, boats that leave and arrive with the precision of railway trains, and the only ferries in America where the boats get into a slip with no fuss and have platforms that connect boat and pier instantly, without a sound of wheels or clanking chains. The ill wind of the fire blew good for country places far and near, and probably as much building is going on outside the city as in. Oakland in particular has grown into citified ways and manners, and tempers the winds to the shorn lambs of San Francisco. In Oakland shops, if anything, are better, streets are clean and swept every day, order and police are in evidence in all parts of the town all the time, and let us hope the morals are as clean as the streets. In spite of a hundred thousand inhabitants, the abiding charm of village life is preserved in separate homes, diversified architecture, shade trees, and greenery, and one hears such a diversity in tongues that one feels as if in a foreign land. Street scenes in Oakland have a delicious touch of romantic California in splendid horses fresh from a ranch; in fearless child riders whose heads barely reach the saddle when they slide down from it and stand on tiptoe to get hold of the hitching-rope which induces all wild steeds to conform to city ways; in athletic creatures in picturesque cowboy dress who are ideal on week days, but in the conventional garb of a Sunday return to ordinary human beings; and in young women who ride cross saddle with their gauntlet gloves and divided skirt trouser legs, edged down the sides, Mexican fashion, with long fringes, and sit their horses like army men instead of jumping-jack, every-day men. Last, but by no means least, Oakland has the great advantage of being next door to Berkeley. My heart is in Berkeley, where clouds and fogs have become diaphanous mists which drift lazily over the purpling hills, where temperatures and inhabitants uplift the soul, and where vine-clad dwellings, in unpainted red and brown cedar woods, with dull green roofs, become a part of a beautiful landscape which lies at the foot of the hills. There are artistic dwellings in three or twenty room sizes which make habitation a pleasure to rich or poor, and where live people from East, North, South, or across oceans—people who winter or summer can hear lectures on every imaginable topic by every imaginable specialist, who can attend concerts and dramas—

[1] Every one will understand that I am not referring to society or cultivated people, of whom there are great numbers here as everywhere else. I am simply looking at California as a tourist in a strange land.

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public or private—on moonlit evenings in the classic Greek theater, who can hear a Jacques Loeb talk the science of life-making rather than money-making, and who live the best life under the happy inspiration and guidance of the University's President.

And *the* flowers—who can express the joy of life here with the flowers?—flowers in gorgeous profusion of color and bloom, whether in the florist's window or out of doors, in two-inch spaces or ten-acre estates. Like the temperatures, they are so tangled up that they cannot tell one season from another, and have lost count of times for bloom and times for rest. Blossoms tumble forth before leaves have had a chance, fall marigolds turn up in the spring, late dahlias come in July, and roses riot in blooms without interference from one year's end to the other. All the fragile, pampered conservatory plants that one has to sit up with nights to keep alive in the East are here growing in outdoor winter cold with an undreamed-of vigor and rank impertinence. Here are fuchsias with the trunk and height of young trees and a bark that becomes shaggy with years; heliotrope with a stalk the size of one's wrist, that climbs to second-story windows and then sends earthward spraying crooked branches covered with a bloom that flings fragrance into the next county; and calla lilies which make common division hedges or broad borders, and carry a creamy lily to every graceful leaf. Florists, not being content with a thing that is so common, have imported from Africa a calla that has a rich orange lily, or one that is a deep green on the outside and orange inside, in shape the same as the white one we know. Geraniums seem to have found their natural habitat; what we call the ivy geranium (a sickly little production of small leaves and smaller blossom) grows here like a mad thing over hill and dale, stone piles, walls, and any earthly place where any one will let it, and literally has blossoms to beat anything that grows. A supporting wall near the University in Berkeley, which runs across two blocks and is twenty feet high, in one part where there are steps going up to a street above is entirely covered with the glossy-green leaves of this vine, and has enormous pink flowers that in their perfect state of bloom quite conceal the foliage. And a hedge of geraniums four or five feet high, a solid mass, top and sides, of deep scarlet flower-heads, is the most splendid flaunting of glowing color I've seen in the world; and if one adds to this red radiance a grouping of glorified field daisies, there is nothing left to be desired. But gardens either *just* grow, or they are a formless mass jumbled together without regard to arrangement or colors; solferino pinks, crimsons, and magentas are cheek by jowl with pure pinks, scarlets, and all varieties of purples. Where flowers bloom if you look at them and grow if you don't, it seems a waste in opportunities not to help nature make whole streets of tasteful combinations; but the people seem as indifferent to artistic grounds and careful selection in colors as they are to graft and morals. The only things that impress one with a high sense of duty and of being true to themselves, the public, and the State, are the flowers, God bless them! It's their duty and business to bloom, and bloom they do, winter and summer, in season and out, regardless of snow or rain, cold or heat.

A NEW STANDARD OF MORALITY

The following extracts from a private letter recently received by the editors of The Outlook will confirm and enforce the view of the situation in San Francisco set forth by "Kew" in the article entitled "San Francisco's Ferment," in The Outlook for August 31. The writer of the letter is a Californian who has special opportunities to know and interpret the trend of affairs in San Francisco.—THE EDITORS.

I FIND that the rich people of San Francisco are all saying that Heney and Spreckels are bad men because they are injuring San Francisco and preventing its rehabilitation by attacking prominent citizens and producing lack of confidence in business circles. I have talked with a number of leading

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business men, and I find the same thing running through all their statements. It means a new ethics. They have formulated a new body of moral law; almost, indeed, a new religion. The fundamental doctrine seems to be that this country exists to do business in, to make money in, to get rich in; anything that interferes with this essential purpose is wrong, including the Ten Commandments. All these men now take it for granted that the business men who were under investigation really did commit bribery, but our rich people think this bribery ought not to be punished, because such punishment unsettles business and the progress of the re-establishment of things in San Francisco. A further reason, or rather a reason at the other end of the line, is that business men were obliged, under the abnormal conditions existing in San Francisco during the Schmitz-Ruef administration, to take care of their properties and protect their stockholders. They did, it is said, what the situation demanded, the only thing, indeed, which the situation permitted. It was a time of stress and necessity; men had to live in accordance with the conditions of the world they were in. If they did not, their property would be ruined. Men cite as an example the ruining of the Spring Valley Water Company because its directors in recent years have been unwilling to bribe and have depended on fair argument. There is no doubt that the Spring Valley Water Company has been practically ruined by the restrictive legislation of the Board of Supervisors. There is no doubt about it that in recent years they have not been in the habit of bribing. And now our typical San Francisco moralist uses this as a burning example; he says that Mr. Calhoun protected his property by doing the thing that the occasion demanded. A third basis of excuse, if you may call it so, is found in the common notion that Mr. Ruef was an attorney and was given by these corporation representatives a fee to accomplish an end in any way he might see fit. They had confidence in him as a person of tried administrative gift, able to accomplish results, and they gave him the money to accomplish those results without inquiring into the various steps which he would take. One of these steps, to be sure, was the distribution of money to the Supervisors. They say, also, that paying him a retainer was not different from the established usage of corporations in putting men on their salary roll who are likely to be called upon to give service at any time to the company, when really the corporation's motive in putting these men on the salary roll is to avoid trouble under threat—in other words, blackmail. At the present time most of the leaders of wealth and society in San Francisco are vehemently opposed to Mr. Heney and Mr. Spreckels. They say they are as bad as men can be. They think every one of any decency should ignore them socially. I have been talked to very vigorously on the matter by several persons of distinction and wealth. It is an amazing condition. I am not sure whether this ethical code and standard to which I refer has ever been formulated before; at any rate, not so frankly. However, it seems to me as if it were very much the same thing as the protest I hear from Wall Street that President Roosevelt, by continuing to proceed toward the punishment of men who have broken the law, is unsettling business and breaking up prosperity. I wonder, after all, if it is not the same new ethics, only that San Francisco, with its usual frankness of sin, has let the whole matter out.

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POLITICS AND PUBLIC OPINION IN JAPAN

BY PAUL S. REINSCH

Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin

ON account of the peculiar conditions of Japanese political life, party action in Japan has thus far been almost entirely oppositional. No party has ever been avowedly organized to support the Government or the principle of Cabinet independence. The closest approach to this is seen in the Daido Club, which in 1907 has been finally given the formal organization of a party, and which is openly opposed to the principle of ministerial responsibility to Parliament. On account of the above considerations, it is apparent that the party system has not fully been tried as yet in Japan, as parties have not been called upon to carry out a constructive policy for any length of time. Constructive political action has been in the hands of the elder statesmen of the Government. This situation of itself has tended to render party action irresponsible, and to reduce party principles to mere generalities. The latter result has also been favored by the desire on the part of opposition parties to ally themselves with other factions for the purpose of securing greater influence. A policy specific in detail would stand in the way of such alliances, and has therefore generally been avoided. The persistent prosecution of certain definite political ends expressed in specific principles has not characterized Japanese parties. They have rather been personal followings of important leaders, like Count Itagaki or Okuma, or they have been brought together temporarily by the hunger for political spoils. Much inconsistency is also found; prominent men change their affiliations in an unexplained manner, and leaders are deserted without much consideration.

But we must look at the institutions through and in which parties are active in order to understand their limitations. The Diet itself is an institution superficially grafted upon the Japanese body politic. Its tenure has been most uncertain. Counting the general election of 1908, there will have been nine elections in eighteen years, only two of which were regular elections following the expiration of the full term of four years. Many of the sessions of Parliament have lasted for only a few weeks or even days. The conditions of the franchise are such that only sixteen out of every thousand inhabitants are entitled to vote, the entire electorate numbering 757,000. The financial powers of Parliament are very circumscribed. In the most recent sessions there has been little debate upon the budget. Thus, the budget of 1906, carrying appropriations of 600,000,000 yen, was voted after a discussion of three hours. As a matter of fact, the real work of the House is done in its committees. The Budget Commission, composed of sixty members representing all factions, carefully goes over the financial legislation and discusses it with members of the Ministry of Finance. When the balance of parties is favorable, the action of the Commission practically disposes of the matter.

During the first years of its existence the House of Representatives promised to become a great forum for debate. Brilliant speakers like Takanashi Tetsushiro, Inouye Kakugoro, Osake Yukio, and Shimada Saburo, won national prominence by their oratorical talents. But when the real impotence of the House became apparent, a blight fell upon oratorical effort and the rostrum was more and more deserted. Matters were settled in the committees and in the lobbies, and every other kind of influence seemed to be more powerful than rational persuasion. Charges of corruption are very frequent. They have at times been admitted by individual members with cynical effrontery, and Count Okuma has repeatedly bewailed the corruption in the constituencies, which recalls the

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Walpolian era in England. Notwithstanding such discouraging conditions, a certain advance seems to have been made through a better understanding of the functions of public opinion in matters of government; but this advance is beset on all sides by dangers created through misunderstanding and hostile feeling.

The House of Representatives is, however, not alone to be considered. It is associated with the House of Peers, a thoroughly conservative force. The majority of the nobility itself are strongly adverse to party government, nor is a different opinion held by the imperial nominees and the great taxpayers, who make up the rest of the upper chamber. Being more closely in touch with the Government, the House of Peers has more real power by far than the House of Representatives.

We must also consider the other elements of the Constitution in order to appreciate the full bearings of the party idea upon general political life in Japan. The apex and center of the Japanese Government is the throne, about which are grouped all the hierarchies of officialdom. The Constitution has embodied and made permanent the old Shinto belief in the heavenly descent and personal divinity of the Mikado. The character of this portion of Japanese constitutional law is indicated by the following passage from Marquis Ito's Commentaries on the Japanese Constitution:

> The Sacred Throne was established at the time the heavens and the earth became separated. The Emperor is Heaven-descended, divine, and sacred. He is pre-eminent above all his subjects. He must be reverenced, and is inviolable. He has, indeed, to pay due respect to the law, but the law has no power to hold him accountable to it. Not only shall there be no irreverence for the Emperor's person, but also shall he not be made a topic for derogatory comment nor one of discussion.

As long as the conception embodied in this extract is still a living force in Japanese politics, the center of gravity will not be shifted from the Government to the popular representation in the Diet.

The throne is surrounded and supported by the *Genro*, or elder statesmen. For forty years (since the restoration of the Emperor) this group of leaders, constantly dwindling but essentially permanent in personnel and ideas, has supported the burden of responsibility. It is they who have piloted the Japanese state and people in their perilous passage from the old to the new civilization. They have combined great foresight in matters of international development and foreign intercourse with constructive talent which has enabled them at the proper time to create the means and measures for domestic progress. All this they did under the weight of constant popular opposition and misunderstanding. Studied by the traditions of Japanese civilization and by their personal allegiance to the throne, loyal to one another, they quietly and firmly carried out a consistent policy leading to a more efficient organization of the Japanese state.

Their cohesion is explained by the fact that they belonged to the clans who had originally supported the imperial restoration. Even now, when only four or five of the original *Genro* survive, they, as well as nearly all their important followers, are taken from a small number of clans. Thus, Choshu has furnished Ito, Yamagata, Inouye, Katsura, Hayashi, and numerous other leaders. The two principal representatives of Satsuma are Marquis Oyama and Count Matsukata. Hizen, with Count Okuma, and Tosa, with Count Itagaki, have furnished the brains and impulse of the opposition. Added to the principle of clan allegiance is that of personal leadership. All of these men, Yamagata, Ito, Okuma, and others, have a large personal following, attracted by their personal qualities. They begin the recruiting of a following in good season, among the promising students of the Japanese universities. Count Okuma has long been the patron, and has now become the President, of Waseda University; and similarly the ultra-conservative Marquis Yamagata looks after the education of young men through whom he hopes to secure the future advance of his policies.

The institution through which the *Genro* or elder statesmen have chiefly exercised their influence is the Privy Council. Throughout the warlike period of the last decade this body has stood

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above the Cabinet, and, as the direct adviser of the Emperor, has been the real guardian of the destinies of Japan. Its most influential members are Ito, Yamagata, and Matsukata. The prominence of Field Marshal Marquis Yamagata, who is also the leading member of the supreme military council, indicates the importance of the army organization in the Japanese state. Indeed, economic and political life must subordinate itself to the efficiency of the military machine. As already indicated, these leaders have not at all times been able to count on the united support of the Japanese nation. Very bitter attacks have from time to time been made upon them, and they have frequently been in personal danger on account of the traditional popular feeling among the Japanese that it is a worthy act to put out of the way a man who is unjust or tyrannical, provided the assailant is ready to expiate his deed with his own life. Most of the prominent Japanese statesmen have at one time or another been threatened by the hand of the assassin. Okubo was killed by a reactionary, and Viscount Mori fell at the hands of an enraged Shinto follower, in 1889. Count Itagaki was stabbed by a young Hotspur, and Count Okuma had his leg taken off in a bomb attack when, in 1888, he was negotiating the treaties for the abolition of exterritoriality. Toru Hoshi was killed for attempting to introduce methods resembling those of American party organization and bossdom in Tokyo. Other prominent victims of this practice were Yokoi, Omura, and Hirosawa. Such attacks, as well as occasional riotous outbursts, are a constant warning to the men in power that public opinion cannot be ignored. It would indeed seem an inevitable conclusion that it would be far better to foster the action of public opinion through regular and responsible organizations than to risk such destructive outbursts of lawlessness.

It will be seen that the problem of organizing public opinion so as to make it truly helpful to the government of the state is still far from its solution in Japan. The Japanese state is, in fact, remarkable chiefly on account of the effective organization of authority. As in Russia, though with a great difference, public action rests on the principle of authority rather than on popular consent. Authority itself is supported by the traditions of the Empire, by the military organization, made constantly more effective on account of the foreign relations of Japan, by clan cohesion, which itself is the principle of authority working on a smaller area, and finally by the wisdom and experience of the representatives of authority and their notable success in augmenting the power of the state. The other principle which ought to be present in a modern popular state, that of consent, has no corresponding organization or support. The creation of a parliament, indeed, raised hopes of popular control; but while parliamentarism has been disappointing in all parts of the world, it has been especially ineffectual in Japan. Japan lacks the strong and independent spirit of a middle class which might make the Diet the center and organ of its influence. The parliamentarians, having been confined to the barren task of opposition, lack experience in practical administration and constructive activity. Their inexperience often leads them to demand the unattainable, and impairs their influence and weight with the nation as a whole. The international relations in which Japan has found herself, necessitating a strong armament and repeated wars, have also been extremely unfavorable to the development of popular rights. It is therefore both illogical and impolitic for the opposition to favor an aggressive foreign policy and to urge the Government on to warlike demonstrations. A national party system can develop only in an era of peace and domestic progress.

Opinions may differ as to whether the absence of a strong parliament is a source of strength or weakness to the Japanese state as a whole. Foreign relations can at present be handled with great secrecy and expedition, and it cannot be denied that the country has been rapidly advancing in general prosperity. But it remains very doubtful whether the principle of authority alone can ever be a safe basis for state life. In Japan it threatens to become excessively developed. The Japanese state is,

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in fact, not only military and bureaucratic, but also monopolistic. Railways, manufacturing and distributing agencies, and financial institutions are directly owned, or at least controlled, by the Government. A formidable machine is thus being created, at the risk, it is to be feared, of impeding spontaneous national development. It is here that the value of a well-organized public opinion is to be sought. Responsible and truly influential, it would keep the Government in touch with the vital forces of the nation, so that there might be avoided the building up of a lifeless mechanism, temporarily efficient, but in the long run bound to become a disastrous impediment to the freedom and progress of the people.

THREE SOUTH AMERICANS AND THEIR DOCTRINES

BY ELBERT F. BALDWIN

Staff Correspondent of The Outlook at The Hague

THE three most talked about South Americans here are Señor Triana, Senhor Barbosa, and Dr. Drago. The first is a Colombian, the second a Brazilian, the third an Argentinian. These names stand for three Doctrines.

The first is that of Colombia. It has to do with loans. It declares that each of the Signatory Powers to the Hague Convention, or Treaty, shall agree not to make war upon any other without having had recourse to the Hague Commissions of Inquiry or Mediation, or the Court of Arbitration; otherwise they shall be declared enemies of mankind to which no neutral state may permit its subjects to make loans.

The second Doctrine is that of Brazil. It concerns itself with territory. It is to the effect that no Signatory Power may undertake to alter, by means of war, the actual limits of its territory at the expense of any other Signatory Power, except after the refusal of arbitration proposed by that Power which wished to make the alteration. If any Power violate this engagement, the alienation of territory forced by armed occupation shall have no juridical authority.

The third Doctrine is that of Argentina. It concerns itself with debt. It claims that the collection of public debt must not cause armed intervention, still less territorial occupation.

Though General Jorge Holguin, as First Delegate from Colombia, may present to the Conference the first of these Doctrines, its fame will probably be more closely associated with the name of the Second Delegate, Señor Santiago Pérez Triana, who, by his eloquent speeches, has already made a distinct name for himself here. Endowed with a remarkable facility of speech, a genius for bold metaphor, and an attractively audacious manner, Señor Triana quadruples the value of these qualities, for he speaks with notable ease three languages besides his native Spanish. He is but forty-eight years old. His father was Professor of International Law at the University of Bogotá, later Colombian Minister at Washington, and still later President of Colombia. As ex-President, however, his criticisms of the new Government caused his expulsion from his country. During his residence in America his son Pérez had gone to school there, completing his studies in Germany at the University of Leipsic. Returning to Colombia, Señor Pérez Triana negotiated a number of important railway contracts between the Colombian Government and an English concern, when, on his father's expulsion, his own papers were also seized, his negotiations stopped, his contracts annulled. Some years after, on the British Government's initiative, an arbitral tribunal at Lausanne avenged Señor Pérez Triana's reputation by a sentence which compelled the Colombian Government to pay nearly half a million dollars in damages.

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The Colombian Doctrine is not new. It was, I believe, first formally announced in America by the Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Secretary of Commerce, in his admirable address last May at the New York Peace Congress. Mr. Straus justly said that the casuistry of international pettifogism has whittled down the principles of international law; that neutral rights have been expanded in the interest of greed and neutral obligations have been cramped and distorted so that, as the law now stands, neutral nations may not sell ships of war and arms to belligerents, but the subjects of neutral nations may; that neutral nations may not grant loans and subsidies to belligerents, but the banker subjects of neutral nations may. To prevent this appalling inconsistency, Colombia proposes, first, that nations shall not make war without having had recourse to the Hague peace-producing machinery; second, that, if they do, neutral governments shall prevent their subjects from lending money to such belligerents. It does not suffice to reply that if a nation persists in going to war without taking advantage of the Hague peace-producing machinery, a Government cannot prevent its subjects from lending money to such a belligerent. Would the London Rothschilds dare lend against the wishes of the British Government? And, should the Government of France withhold its sanction, how much value would any French loan have on the Paris Bourse?

If the Colombian proposition is epoch-making, so is the Brazilian; namely, that by means of war no Signatory Power shall alter the actual limits of its territory at the expense of another Signatory Power, except after the refusal of arbitration proposed by the Power which wished to make the alteration; furthermore, that if any Power violate this engagement, the alienation of territory forced by armed occupation shall have no juridical authority. The proposer and defender of this doctrine is Senhor Ruy Barbosa, the head of the Brazilian delegation. Hear him: "When I propose to augment my territory at the expense of another's, it is not my independence that I defend, it is not my honor that I save, it is not my essential interests that I assure; it is my ambition that I raise above another's vital interests, honor, independence. By the most absolute necessity such a case ought to fall under the rule of arbitration. On the other hand, the case patently transgresses the juridical order of our civilization. If there is anything to-day that ought to unite all Governments founded on right, it may well be a common resolution against the bane of conquest. Brazil at least has put herself on record in her Constitution that never will she engage, directly or indirectly, by herself or as ally, in a war of conquest."

And the Brazilian ought to know, for he drafted the Constitution—perhaps his most enduring title to fame.

Like Baron Komura, the First Japanese Ambassador at the Portsmouth Conference of 1905, which ended the war with Russia, so Ruy Barbosa is also mentally superfine in inverse proportion to his physical size. Neither one of these statesmen looks as if he weighed a hundred pounds. Senhor Barbosa is fifty-six years old. For a third of a century he has been a lawyer of great distinction, a member of the Brazilian Parliament for twenty-five years, and is now Vice-President of the Senate. Thus he has had large experience in "laying down the law." He makes himself felt in it here, and has also become a marked personality in the Conference. He is assuredly one of the most picturesque, with his slight figure, olive complexion, gray hair and mustache, but above all with his serious, thoughtful face, suggesting not at all the sweet-do-nothing tropics, but rather a life of incessant and acute activity, which we hardly associate with tropical existence—as witnesses his library at Rio de Janeiro of nearly a hundred thousand volumes. His defense of Dreyfus is another witness, and, as well, of his fearless courage. For Senhor Barbosa was the very first to take up the cudgels in behalf of the prisoner of Devil's Isle.

Political allusions are not allowed during the discussions of the Conference. Yet in the Fourth Commission the other day Señor Triana permitted a slightly sarcastic implication at the expense of our own United States to creep into his

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remarks, and was gently chided therefor by Professor de Martens as President. More recently Senhor Barbosa himself was guilty, according to Martens, not so much of a political allusion as of an inexact parliamentary word. There was instant resentment from the greatest lawyer in South America. That lawyer is not over-loquacious in general society; on the contrary, he impresses one as being rather reserved. But in the Conference he will write a long speech rapidly and then proceed to read it in a kind of monotone as distinguished from the expected oratory. As Senhor Barbosa speaks on almost every subject, the presiding officer may have wished to curb the Brazilian's activity. But he encountered the wrong man. Ruy Barbosa seems indomitable. Our Government has insisted, in season and out of season, that all the South American states should be included in the Second Hague Conference. Now that they are actually represented here, Senhor Barbosa insists that they shall be heard on any and every subject. It seems rather appropriate that the South American protagonist should be a Brazilian, because of all the states south of Mexico Brazil was the only one invited to the First Conference, this owing to her diplomatic representative at St. Petersburg, the other South American states having none there. The invitations to the First Conference were sent only to those states represented diplomatically at the Russian capital. Senhor Barbosa may expect more sympathetic treatment from MM. Bourgeois and Beernaert, presiding officers who are also pre-eminently practical men of large experience both as parliamentarians and as premiers of their respective countries. MM. Martens and Asser, on the other hand, who apparently represent the academic as much as the practical side of life, seem less elastic in directing the parliamentary proceedings of a particular Commission.

The colloquy between the President of the Fourth Commission and the doughty Brazilian was specially interesting because of its background. Frederic de Martens was the umpire in the frontier dispute of 1898 between Venezuela and British Guiana. The decision was against Venezuela. Not a few men throughout Latin America regarded the sentence as partial. This feeling was strengthened when it was supposed that the decision formed the basis to the King of Italy for an arbitral judgment made by him concerning a seemingly somewhat analogous dispute between Great Britain and Brazil. Thus the two ambassadors represent resentments which do not date from yesterday. The Russian is sensitive at the unpopularity in South America of the Venezuela sentence. But the Brazilian is supersensitive at anything which does not give to Latin America all the justice to which she thinks she is entitled.

When I asked Dr. de Martens as to the matter, he remarked: "During all my life I have had the courage of my convictions, and have frankly said what I think good for truth and friendly understanding between men. Well, that is seldom good for the man who is doing it! But I was not sole arbitrator in the frontier dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. In 1898 the United States, acting for Venezuela and Great Britain, established a Court of Arbitration. You named as arbitrators Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Brewer, of your Supreme Court; Great Britain, Lord Herschell, and after his death Lord Russell and Henn Collins, now Master of the Rolls. Those gentlemen elected me as umpire and chairman. In the summer and autumn of 1899 this tribunal sat at Paris in the palace of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The tribunal's final award was *unanimous*. My American and English colleagues came to the same final conclusions. Now I ask you, How can people say that I gave the award? I was the fifth!"

"How about the Brazilian dispute?"

"The award of the Paris Court of Arbitration had absolutely nothing to do with the Brazilian frontier," replied Dr. Martens; "and for the King of Italy the Paris award could not have had the least importance."

But some South Americans persist in thinking that it had. At all events, any colloquy between their protagonist and the arbitrator in a number of important

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international court cases is bound to be spicy. Both are men not only of vast equipment but of equal acuteness and courage.

Dr. Luis Maria Drago, the Second Argentinian Delegate, is the propounder of the famous Drago Doctrine. From the prominence which he has attained I had fancied him a kind of Methuselah, with his beard tucked in his belt. Or I had thought him some sort of splendid old Spanish grandee-patriarch, dispensing justice under a tree as the Prince of Montenegro does to-day, national as well as international justice. For, before he rose to international distinction, Señor Drago was a judge in his country's civil and criminal courts, and a memorial of some of his observations in that capacity is to be found in his volume, the English title of which would be, were it translated, "The Man of Prey." It has been translated, however, into Italian, and by no less a personage than Professor Lombroso, of the University of Turin, the great anthropologist, who prefaces the volume with a flattering prologue. Fancy my surprise, then, after these expectations, when, one evening some weeks ago, into a certain parlor here there entered a youngish-looking man, well set up, vigorous, handsome, natty, dapper. And he was Dr. Drago! He is only forty-eight years old—Señor Triana's age. But talk with him. Then you will see that, like President Roosevelt, underneath a comparatively youthful exterior there exists an equally remarkable astuteness of political vision and acuteness of expression. Señor Drago talks best in his study at the Hôtel d'Orange, Scheveningen, hard by, with the photographs around him of his family to remind him of them and of his country. He has brought it and himself well to the fore recently; indeed, his name has been in every publicist's mouth. In his achievements, one might even say that he has at least built the pedestal for his own statue.

In the year of Dr. Drago's birth an event occurred which caused the most notable of European interventions in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere. The famous Jecker bonds were then issued, of the nominal value of fifteen million Mexican dollars, of which only one-twentieth ever got into the Mexican treasury under Miramon, from the Swiss banker, Jecker. At Miramon's overthrow by Benito Juarez, the bonds were repudiated. But they had been largely bought up by the Duc de Morny, Napoleon III.'s Minister, doubtless to give to that monarch a chance to intervene in Mexico, to occupy its territory, and to impose upon it a European Emperor, Maximilian. All this was duly accomplished, since our own hands were tied by the Civil War.

When Luis Drago was learning to read and write, not only Mexico but all Latin America was thus learning to comprehend as never before the danger of European armed intervention and occupancy of American soil under the pretext of righting some international financial wrong committed by a debtor nation in the Western Hemisphere. Dr. Drago's first noticeable pronouncement on the subject of the collection of debts occurred in 1892, when, as he remarked the other day, "being Attorney General of the Province of Buenos Aires, I maintained before our Supreme Court that, although our provinces, or Federal States of Argentina, could be sued before the tribunals on account of pecuniary obligations, the decisions of the courts, in specifying that a certain amount of money should be paid by the provinces, could not be forcibly executed."

Ten years later he was Minister of Foreign Affairs. England, Germany, and Italy were resorting to bombardment in order to compel the Venezuelan Government to pay the debts contracted by it with citizens of those European countries. This aroused Señor Drago to action, and he wrote his famous letter to John Hay, in which he declared that no collection of government bonds ought to provoke armed intervention and still less territorial occupation. "These are the principles," as Dr. Drago said to me, "laid down in my note of the 29th December, 1902, when trying to apply to the Venezuela case the Monroe Doctrine, which, up to the present moment, I think, must be construed to cover and forbid the collection of debt in America with military occupation and control of its countries."

It may be said that in 1788, in No. 81

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of the Federalist, Alexander Hamilton said very much the same thing, and that the practice of the American Government has conformed thereto rather consistently. But Dr. Drago contends that Hamilton was thinking of the forensic collection of private debt arising from contracts between a citizen of the United States and any State of the United States, whereas he, Drago, is thinking "of the international collection, not of private debt or private contract, but of government bonds." It has also been said that the doctrine enunciated by another Argentinian statesman, Señor Calvo, late Minister to Paris, and that of Señor Drago were the same. But Dr. Drago tells me that the Calvo doctrine covers the collection of debts arising out of *private* contract; that the difference between the Hamilton and Calvo doctrines is that Calvo was thinking of private contracts, not between a citizen and a state, but between a citizen and a nation. Dr. Drago's doctrine covers *public* debt. Hence, in describing the debts protected by his doctrine, he insists upon the use of the title "government bonds."

What chance of success has any such sweeping proposition as Dr. Drago's before the present Hague Conference? Very little. Yet it would be well within the purview of that Conference to decide how far nations should go in the forcible collection of debt. Among other ambassadors here, Dr. de Martens has been outspoken on the subject, and has done a great service to South America. With a fine scorn, he says: "Force has been used only against the smallest states, particularly against the Latin-American. The same claims against the larger have not led to the same results. The history of international conflicts provoked by claims not settled by pacific means proves that nearly always these claims are in the beginning so enormous and exaggerated that the claimant government itself consents little by little to diminish them. Furthermore, the most superficial examination of the causes of the claims will show that no one of them is enough to justify armed intervention or the employment of violence before a competent tribunal shall have determined the legality of the demands. This tribunal should be the Hague Court." It would be interesting to know if all Dr. de Martens's Russian colleagues are equally imbued with as high a sense of justice and generosity.

Such an opinion, cherished by many, was at the base of the very first formal announcement made to the Conference by the American Delegation, through notice given by Mr. Choate, our First Delegate, that America reserved the right to present a proposal for an agreement as to how far nations may go in the forcible collection of contract debts; and, later, in the proposition offered by General Porter, our Second Delegate, that force shall not be used by any Signatory Power in collecting contract public debts made by its citizens with another state, until the Hague Court has pronounced upon the justice and extent of the debt in question.

This arrangement would be fair both to creditor and to debtor nations. Among a very few of the former, however, may be found some spirit of reaction, as marked in its conservatism as is the Drago Doctrine in its radicalism. This conservative spirit would compass the defeat of our own proposition, by seeking to have it considered only as a part of a general arbitration scheme, thus uniting two of the several distinct propositions introduced by our Delegation, the proposal for a general arbitration treaty and the proposal for a limitation of force in collecting public debt. Article XIX. of the First Convention of the Act of 1899 signed at The Hague declares that "independently of general or private treaties, expressly stipulating recourse to arbitration as obligatory on the Signatory Powers, these Powers reserve to themselves the right of concluding . . . new agreements, general or private, with a view to extending obligatory arbitration to all cases which they may consider possible to submit to it." It might seem as if, under this Article, a proposal regarding the collection of public debt would find fit place as being a subject properly falling under those of an arbitral nature. But it may also be urged, and with greater force, that if there are general arbitration treaties, there are also

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special arbitration treaties, and that if there are special arbitration treaties, there are also special subjects of a *judicial* as opposed to an arbitral character, and this subject is one of those. It would, therefore, seem as if it fell under Article XVI.: "In questions of a legal nature, and especially in the interpretation or application of international conventions, arbitration is recognized by the Signatory Powers as the most effective, and at the same time the most equitable, means of settling disputes which diplomacy has failed to settle." Thus our debt-collection proposition should be kept permanently distinct from any proposition covering a general obligatory arbitration treaty, about the advisability of which there is wider divergence of opinion and to which there is greater opposition. If the debt-collection proposition is not kept distinct, its enemies, after incorporating it as a part of a scheme for a general obligatory arbitration treaty, can, after rejecting the whole, certainly reject all the parts. And this is exactly what the opposition is trying to do.

The Hague.

PROBLEMS OF EVERY-DAY LIFE[1]

THE TRUE MAN AND THE CHURCH'S IDOLS

BY LAIRD WINGATE SNELL

A YOUNG man was consulting an elderly city clergyman about the problems presented in his country parish—an old New England church, proud of its age, its ancient traditions, and its old families. Families moving into the neighborhood usually after a few months gave up attending church. To the young minister they said the reason was that everything in his church save the spoken word told them they were not wanted there.

The young man outlined the situation to the older clergyman, and asked whether such and such changes might not make the church more inviting to outsiders, and more truly representative of its Master to the community.

In his answer the clergyman tentatively admitted that some minor changes might be advisable, but the point of his reply was this: "You must not lay the blame on the church; the real trouble is that those outside do not love the Lord Jesus Christ."

One often hears church people turn aside criticism with the remark that thus the worldly excuse their not following Christ. That may be true; but is not the Church put here to be so like her Master that she shall leave the world without excuse? Were she honestly and earnestly pursuing *that* ideal, she could only welcome criticism, eager to subject every phase of her life to searching light.

Religions are always and naturally ultra-conservative. The sacredness peculiar to the soul's relation to God we transfer to our customary religious forms; then we think of the forms as being the religion, and cannot bear that they be either changed or criticised.

As a matter of fact, no form can in itself be sacred; sacredness inheres in the Reason, the Divinity, the Spirit, behind the form. Not only so, but every form exists to the end that it may be transcended and done away. This is the nature of things, the divine principle of being. The universe, the manifestation of an indwelling spirit of Reason and Goodness, is one vast unceasing progress. We see the divine creation going on about us as an incessant changing of all that is outward and material—of all *forms*—to express an inward principle of growth. Just so, the life of man and of institutions—if they be truly living and not dying—consists in the ceaseless changing, shaping, mastering, and

[1] Under this general head are included seven brief articles by Mr. Snell, dealing with practical and personal religious problems. The present is the seventh article of the series.—THE EDITORS.

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discarding of the outward form by the inner spirit.

Thus we can say, forms exist only that they may be transcended and done away. The outward "letter," if suffered to endure, "killeth;" the inward "spirit," if allowed its freedom, "giveth life." Stagnation, then, is death; a fixed and final form is necessarily void of life, and inimical to spirit.

This is the evil of idolatry. The image-worshiper does not conceive that his image is all there is to his God, but unwittingly he ties his God down to his image. To the image, moreover, he attributes the sacredness of that most sacred of all realities—man's thought of the Most High; through the fixedness of the sacred form his thought of God becomes fixed also—the thought that above all things should be instinct with vital energy, reaching out, reaching up, overcoming the world; and he has a dead in place of a living God.

Whether the image be of man's hands or of his brains, a carving or a creed, a statue or an institution, it is an idol. Wherever a form is made sacredly changeless there is an idol, for there the inner-growing spirit, which is God, is denied and done to death.

John, after exalting at length "the life, the eternal life," which we have "in him that is true," as his closing word enjoins his readers to "guard" themselves "from idols." The injunction is as needful to-day as in the days when the followers of the crucified Jew were newly delivered from image-worship. All about us are the forms of Christianity, ancient, loved, beautiful, presenting a historic continuity to bind us with the Christian past in a way that seems supremely vital and charged with power. What more natural than that, loving the forms, we should unconsciously exalt them above the spirit, should be careful for the unchanged institution rather than for the growing life?

Just this is what we do; and it is just this that creates the gulf between the Church and the world of real things and real men. Are not such things as these Christian idols—creeds that do not tally with the truth as we conceive it; statements of dogma or fact that must be interpreted to the vanishing point, in an age whose scientific temper asks for words at their face value; conditions of experience or belief precedent to church fellowship which the Master never thought of imposing on one who wanted his fellowship; a form of organization, a form of baptism, a form of ritual, a form of doctrine, exalted to become rocks of offense and of schism, destroying the glorious unity of the Church's true and proper spirit; a liturgy either shapeless or shaped to a mediæval thought of God; rubrics not meant to be followed; prayer-meetings innocent of prayer; a "pledge" for the young with its inevitable unspiritual fruit; phrases empty of meaning; a book held above criticism; teaching that shirks definition; preaching without a theology?

It is urged that, as many generations must be wiser than one, we must cling to the old forms on faith till the larger truth appears. But that is to lose, not discover, the larger truth. The larger truth comes *through those who are true.* We may reverently search the old for all the truth it can give us; we must be honest to the last particle of reality within us. For the real in us is God self-revealed in us. True to ourselves we make revealed truth larger; true to ourselves we build up and pass on truth and preserve the only genuine continuity.

"Christian idolatry," our adherence to the outward form, makes the Church unreal. Men feel that unreality—real men always feel unreality—and they pass the Church by. Would it not be well should the whole Church of Christ take criticisms and suggestions of change home to her heart and life, determined to know whatever of sin and failure can with reason be laid to her charge; determined, then, with new knowledge of herself and of the men and the thought of the world, to lay wise but strong hands upon ecclesiastical custom, organization, creed, institution, sacrament, to make them through and through the organs of her outward-pressing, upward-reaching, divinely powerful life? So she would be a mighty Church, able to go in and possess her Land of Promise—this new, amazing age, whose wide, upturned field of thought, like soil that the plow has

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freshly furrowed throughout its length and breadth, lies waiting for the seed that is the word of God.

Is public prayer by the ordinary church member no longer spontaneous and genuine? Then, in place of prayer-meetings cold and dead, why not have warm social hours with live discussions, in which the church shall help men to bring the things that fill their minds and the newspapers under the searchlight of practical religion? Does the crass formalism of the Christian Endeavor meeting lack even the saving grace of a touch of beauty? Why not give the young people what they so quickly learn to love—a ritual that by its simple beauty and depth of reason leads to worship in spirit and in truth? Do creeds ring false, and liturgies express a God outgrown? Why not make them over? They sprang at the first from the living thought of men, and men with thought alive can reshape them; not you alone, nor I alone, but you beginning and I adding, and a third polishing, and the ages judging and choosing. It is so that all treasures of the Church have been born—and is the spirit of Christ dead, that re-creating and forming afresh shall not proceed to the end of the age?

The Church is searching for the secret of a live Sunday evening service. On Sunday evenings men and women throng the streets searching for "something good." There is at the Church's hand that which does not fail to win the common people and at the same time send truth home to the common mind with a directness, concreteness, power, and permanency unapproached. It is the acted drama. Should the Church on Sunday evenings stage simple, spiritual Dramas of Life, she would not only reclaim for religion a deep and imperishable human interest which should never have been banned—a master art which had its birth in modern form from the Church—but, what is of vaster import, she would reach and teach the people; she would actually feed Christ's sheep.

It behooves the Church to be exceeding jealous on behalf of the spirit of any forms persisting after life has left them, and exceeding zealous to seize upon that form, new or old, which can be life's organ to manifest its power and find men. If she is true to the life, the life itself insures true form and builds the beautiful body. The real continuity of the Church is vital and spiritual, not historical. Historical continuity—of organization or institution or sacrament—is wholly incidental to the vital continuity which is the continuing spirit of Christ in men. The organized Church is necessarily temporary, as are all things historical, necessarily mediate and mortal, like all organisms. It is a means to an end—the end, the Kingdom; the means, the changing vehicle of the growing spirit. The Spirit of God lives from man to man, from generation to generation, while men and generations pass. So it finds its ever larger manifestation and more adequate utterance. Likewise it lives from institution to institution while institutions come and go—from the Jewish Church to the Christian Church, from the Roman Church to the Protestant Church—and thus the Kingdom draws near.

Should the divine economy, out of the manifold activities of the spirit of Christ to-day in schools, philanthropies, settlements, guilds, missionary and Christian associations, and in all men who seek to serve their fellow-men in the spirit of Jesus, fashion an organization not historically continuous with the Church, but including all these and the churches as expressions of the one Spirit, the Church—if she thinks of her Master—will not oppose, she will rejoice; for she will know that the larger, truer Church is being born, the Church more truly instituted by Christ, since more nearly co-extensive with his spirit; the Church that brings the world a clearer vision of the Kingdom, therefore the one, continuous, catholic Church of the living God.

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COMFORTABLE BOOKS[1]

BY ELIZABETH WOODBRIDGE

JONATHAN methodically tucked his book-mark into "The Virginians," and, closing the fat green volume, began to knock the ashes out of his pipe against the bricked sides of the fireplace.

"'The Virginians' is a very comfortable sort of book," he remarked.

"Is it?" I said. "I wonder why."

He ruminated. "Well, chiefly, I suppose, because it's so good and long. You get to know all the people, you get used to their ways, and when they turn up again, after a lot of chapters, you don't have to find out who they are—you just feel comfortably acquainted."

I sighed. I had just finished a magazine story—condensed, vivid, crushing a whole life-tragedy into seven pages and a half. In that space I had been made acquainted with sixteen different characters, seven principal ones and the rest subordinate, but all clearly drawn. I had found it interesting, stimulating; as a *tour de force* it was noteworthy even among the crowd of short stories—all condensed, all vivid, all interesting—that had appeared that month. But—comfortable? No. And I felt envious of Jonathan. He had been reading "The Virginians" all winter. His book-mark is at page 597, and there are 803 pages in all, so he has a great deal of comfort left.

Perhaps comfort is not quite all that one should expect from one's reading. Certainly it is the last thing one gets from the perusal of our current literature, and any one who reads nothing else is missing something which, whether he realizes it or not, he ought for his soul's sake to have—something which Jonathan roughly indicated when he called it "comfort." The ordinary reader devours short stories by the dozen, by the score—short short-stories, long short-stories, even short-stories laboriously expanded to a volume, but still short-stories. He glances, less frequently, at verses, chiefly quatrains, at columns of jokes, at popularized bits of history and science, at bits of anecdotal biography, and nowhere in all this medley does he come in contact with what is large and leisurely. Current literature is like a garden I once saw. Its proud owner led me through a maze of smooth-trodden paths, and pointed out a vast number of horticultural achievements. There were sixty-seven varieties of dahlias, there were more than a hundred kinds of roses, there were untold wonders which at last my weary brain refused to record. Finally I escaped, exhausted, and sought refuge on a hillside I knew, from which I could look across the billowing green of a great rye-field, and there, given up to the beauty of its manifold simplicity, I invited my soul.

It is even so with our reading. When I go into one of our public reading-rooms, and survey the serried ranks of magazines and the long shelves full of "Recent fiction, not to be taken out for more than five days"—nay, even when I look at the library tables of some of my friends—my brain grows sick and I long for my rye-field.

Happily, there always is a rye-field at hand to be had for the seeking. Jonathan finds refuge from business and the newspapers in his pipe and "The Virginians." I have no pipe, but I sit under the curling rings of Jonathan's, and I, too, have my comfortable books, my literary rye-fields. Last summer it was Malory's "Morte d'Arthur," whose book I found indeed a comfortable one—most comfortable. I read much besides, many short stories of surpassing cleverness and some of real excellence, but as I look back upon my summer's literary experience, all else gives place to the long pageant of Malory's story, gorgeous or tender or gay, seen like a fair vision against the dim background of an old New England apple orchard. Surely, though the literature of our library tables may sometimes weary me, it shall never enslave me.

[1] Other "Jonathan Papers" may be found in the numbers of The Outlook for May 18 and August 10 last.—THE EDITORS.

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But they must be read, these "comfortable" books, in the proper fashion, not hastily, nor cursorily, nor with any desire to "get on" in them. They must lie at our hand to be taken up in moments of leisure, the slowly shifting book-mark—there should always be a book-mark—recording our half-reluctant progress. (I remember with what dismay I found myself arrived at the fourth and last volume of Malory.) Thus read, thus slowly woven among the intricacies and distractions of our life, these precious books will link its quiet moments together and lend to it a certain quality of largeness, of deliberation, of continuity.

For it is surely a mistake to assume, as people so often do, that in a life full of distractions one should read only such things as can be finished at a single sitting and that a short one. It is a great misfortune to read only books that "must be returned within five days." For my part, I should like to see in our public libraries, to offset the shelves of such books, other shelves, labeled "Books that may and should be kept out six months." I would have there Thackeray and George Eliot and Wordsworth and Spenser, Malory and Homer and Cervantes and Shakespeare and Montaigne—oh, they should be shelves to rejoice the soul of the harassed reader!

No, if one can read but little, let him by all means read something big. I know a woman occupied with the demands of a peculiarly exigent social position. Finding her one day reading "The Tempest," I remarked on her enterprise. "Not a bit!" she protested. "I am not reading it to be enterprising, I am reading it to get rested. I find Shakespeare so peaceful, compared with the magazines." I have another friend who is taking entire charge of her children, besides doing a good deal of her own housework and gardening. I discovered her one day sitting under a tree, reading Matthew Arnold's poems, while the children played near by. I ventured to comment on what seemed to me the incongruity of her choice of a book. "But don't you see," she replied, quickly. "That is just why! I am so busy from minute to minute doing lots of little practical, temporary things, that I simply have to keep in touch with something different—something large and quiet. If I didn't, I should die!"

I suppose in the old days, in a less "literary" age, all such busy folk found this necessary rest and refreshment in a single book—the Bible. Doubtless many still do so, but not so many; and this, quite irrespective of religious considerations, seems to me a great pity. The literary quality of the Scriptures has, to be sure, been partly vitiated by the lamentable habit of reading them in isolated "texts," instead of as magnificent wholes; yet, even so, I feel sure that this constant intercourse with the Book did for our predecessors in far larger measure what some of these other books of which I have been speaking do for us—it furnished that contact with greatness which we all crave.

It may be accident, though I hardly think so, that to find such books we must turn to the past. Doubtless others will arise in the future—possibly some are even now being brought to birth, though this I find hard to believe. For ours is the age of the short story—a wonderful product, perhaps the finest flower of fiction, and one which has not yet achieved all its victories or realized all its possibilities. All the fiction of the future will show the influence of this highly specialized form. In sheer craftsmanship novel-writing has progressed far; in technique, in dexterous manipulation of their material, the novices of to-day are ahead of the masters of yesterday. This often happens in an art, and it is especially true just now in the art of fiction. Yes, there are great things preparing for us in the future, there are excellent things being done momently about us. But while we wait for the great ones, the excellent ones sometimes create in us a sense of surfeit. We cannot hurry the future, and if meanwhile we crave repose, leisure, quiet, steadiness, the sense of magnitude, we must go to the past. There, and not in the yearly output of our own publishers, we shall find our "comfortable" books.

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AN AMERICAN HISTORICAL MYSTERY[1]

IN "The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" Mr. William Henry Hoyt vigorously attacks an interesting and perplexing historical problem—the question whether the first formal statement by American colonists of their intention to separate from Great Britain was made, not on July 4, 1776, but on May 20, 1775, the date of an alleged declaration of independence by the citizens of what was then Mecklenburg County in North Carolina. The consensus of critical historical opinion has steadily been against the validity of this claim, but it has always found supporters; and in North Carolina belief in it is so general that, by legislative enactment, May 20 has for many years been religiously observed as a date ever to be held in joyous and grateful remembrance. More than this, the patriotic activity of certain North Carolinians has lately brought to light evidence strongly tending, it would seem, to confirm the authenticity of the Mecklenburg declaration, and reviving a controversy that has slumbered since the centennial celebration of "Mecklenburg Day" in 1875.

Within the past two years, indeed, much has been written in support of their case by the advocates of the Mecklenburg claim, notably by Dr. George W. Graham, of Charlotte, the scene of the supposed anticipation of the action taken by the united colonies July 4, 1776. It has remained for Mr. Hoyt to take up the cudgels in behalf of the opposition, and subject the evidence, new and old, to a close examination, with a view to showing that there is to-day no more reason for granting primacy in independence to the men of Mecklenburg than there was when the claim in their behalf was first advanced nearly one hundred years ago. Mr. Hoyt himself, it appears, is of North Carolinian lineage, and began his task with strong prepossessions in favor of the genuineness of the Mecklenburg declaration; but the further he progressed in his investigation the stronger grew his belief that it had no better foundation than the imperfect memory of the participants in a meeting held at Charlotte, not on May 20, but on May 31, 1775, when there was adopted, not a formal declaration of independence, but a series of resolutions providing a temporary form of government for the county of Mecklenburg "until instructions from the Provincial Congress, regulating the jurisprudence of the province, shall provide otherwise, or the legislative body of Great Britain resign its unjust and arbitrary pretensions with respect to America." This is the view which the great majority of historians have held since the discovery of the so-called "Thirty-first Resolves" in 1838 and 1847, when a complete set was finally unearthed in the files of an old newspaper.

Before that time the Mecklenburg declaration was usually attacked as an impudent forgery, based on the immortal document of the Fourth of July. The circumstances under which it first became generally known lent color to this charge. As Mr. Hoyt tells the story, the publication of William Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry" gave rise, in the winter of 1818–19, to a discussion as to whether the earliest movements that led to American independence took place in Virginia or Massachusetts. Incidental to the debate on this point the statement was made by North Carolina Congressmen that the people of Mecklenburg County had formally declared themselves independent of Great Britain long before the July 4, 1776, declaration; and, incredulity being expressed, there presently appeared in the Raleigh Register a detailed account of the meeting at which independence was said to have been declared, and what purported to be the text of the declaration itself.

Delegates, it seemed, had assembled at Charlotte for the purpose of devising

[1] The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. By William Henry Hoyt. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.50, net.

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means to "assist their struggling brethren in Boston, and also generally to adopt measures to extricate themselves from the impending storm, and to secure unimpaired their inalienable rights, privileges, and liberties from the dominant grasp of British imposition and tyranny." While in session, May 19, 1775, a courier arrived with news of the battle of Lexington. Persuaded that the possibility of reconciliation was at an end, and roused to a fiery enthusiasm, the delegates, after a debate lasting far into the morning of May 20, adopted a ringing declaration of independence; a copy of which, the narrator of the Raleigh Register account added, was transmitted by an express rider to the Continental Congress then in session at Philadelphia.

It was at once noticed, by John Adams among others, that a number of phrases in the alleged declaration bore a striking resemblance to language employed in the Fourth of July declaration; and Adams, with perhaps a little malice, promptly called Jefferson's attention to this fact. Smarting under the imputation of plagiarism, Jefferson denounced the Mecklenburg document as "a very unjustifiable quiz," adducing arguments to prove that had it been genuine it would certainly have become a matter of common knowledge at the time of its adoption. His correspondence with Adams, however, was not made public until 1829, and in the meantime three other versions—designated respectively as the Davie, the Garden, and the Martin—had come to light. The first, which was imperfect, was in manuscript, and, so far as it went, was identical with that of the Raleigh Register article. The others were contained in books published in 1828 and 1829, and, though slightly different textually from their predecessors, closely resembled them.

The publication of Jefferson's skeptical comment provoked the Legislature of North Carolina, where the Mecklenburg claim was by this time pretty generally accepted, to make an official inquiry. Depositions were obtained from survivors of the meeting at Charlotte, and while they differed from one another on several points, they were agreed that a declaration of independence had actually been made. This was in 1830, and shortly afterwards seemingly corroborative evidence was secured with the discovery that on August 8, 1775, the royal governor of North Carolina, Josiah Martin, had issued a proclamation in which he referred to "a most infamous publication in the Cape Fear Mercury importing to be resolves of a set of people styling themselves a committee for the county of Mecklenburg, most traitorously declaring the entire dissolution of the laws, government, and constitution of this country." Forthwith it was asserted that doubt could no longer exist; but, as Mr. Hoyt puts it, "many believed that the remarkable coincidence between phrases in the Mecklenburg declaration and the declaration of July 4, 1776, could not have been the result of accident, and that although a paper might have been drawn up in Mecklenburg on May 20, 1775, it was not in the words of the instrument as it then stood."

At this stage of the controversy a partial publication of the so-called "Thirty-first Resolves" was discovered in the Massachusetts Spy of July 12, 1775, indicating that a meeting had really been held at Charlotte, not on May 20 but May 31 of that year, and that resolutions breathing a spirit of independence, but not definitely declaring independence, had then been adopted. It now became of vital importance to learn the exact contents of the issue of the Cape Fear Mercury to which Governor Martin had referred in his proclamation. No copy of the newspaper in question could be found in the United States, but it was ascertained that Martin had sent one to the home authorities, and that it had been placed on file in the British Record Office. Search being made, the discovery followed that even this official copy had disappeared, having been borrowed by United States Minister Stevenson, or in his name, in 1837, and never returned. By the advocates of the declaration it was immediately charged that the copy had been deliberately destroyed as a means of protecting Jefferson's memory from a proved accusation of plagiarism; but the opponents of the much-debated

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claim held that this inference was purely gratuitous, and remained steadfast in their skepticism, on the ground that not a shred of contemporary documentary evidence had been produced to show that the declaration had been heard of prior to the Raleigh Register publication of 1819.

It is only recently, indeed, that any such evidence has been brought forward to an extent warranting a re-examination of the proof for and against the authenticity of the declaration. As early as 1858, to be sure, the discovery was made of a series of doggerel verses dated March 18, 1777, containing an explicit reference to the declaration; but this stood practically alone until late years, when various pieces of evidence were unearthed, notably old land deeds dated in such and such a year "of our independence," referring back not to 1776 but 1775; the printed contemporary text of a commencement day oration delivered by a school-boy in 1809 and including a brief account of the Charlotte meeting; and a manuscript history, found in 1904 at Bethania, North Carolina, making an incidental allusion to the meeting and its action in declaring the county of Mecklenburg "free and independent of England," critical examination disclosing that this manuscript had been written not later than the autumn of 1783.

On the strength of these references the present-day Mecklenburg claimants contend that they have proved their case, and would dismiss the "Thirty-first Resolves" as having been adopted at a subsequent meeting; or, a most recent suggestion, that they were the resolutions which it was originally intended to adopt, but which had been superseded by the declaration of independence in consequence of the news from Lexington. Prior to the meeting, however, this theory has it, they were printed for the consideration of the delegates, and stray copies erroneously found their way into newspapers of the day after the meeting had taken place.

Against all this, Mr. Hoyt, as representative of the opponents of the claim, argues that every contemporary reference so far found is as readily applicable to the "Thirty-first Resolves" as to the alleged declaration; emphasizes the fact that the only known contemporary textual publications relate to the "Thirty-first Resolves;" insists, on the basis of an exhaustive critical and comparative examination, that the Garden and Martin texts, on which the friends of the declaration now rely, trace their origin to an account written in 1819 from the notes that were the foundation of the Raleigh Register article; and declares, as the result of a personal investigation, that it can be shown that what the Cape Fear Mercury contained was not the declaration but the "Thirty-first Resolves."

Governor Martin, it seems, sent two despatches, an original and a duplicate, at the time of transmitting the Cape Fear Mercury copy to his superiors in England; and the duplicate, as Mr. Hoyt learned from the Earl of Dartmouth, in whose possession it now is, included "in place of a newspaper" a manuscript copy of the "Thirty-first Resolves." "The duplicate despatch," Mr. Hoyt adds, "is in the same clerk's or secretary's hand and in the same words as the original in the Public Record Office, and is signed by the Governor. Both were numbered 34 by Governor Martin's secretary. . . . The manuscript copy of the Mecklenburg resolves bears the indorsement: 'In Governor Martin's of the 30 of June, 1775, No. 34.'" To Mr. Hoyt the inference is irresistible that Governor Martin, having only one copy of the Cape Fear Mercury, had its resolutions written out by hand for the purpose of making a complete duplicate despatch.

It is scarcely possible to expect that Mr. Hoyt's book will put an end to the debate. That, in all probability, can be done only by the production of an unquestionably genuine copy of the missing issue of the Mercury, showing beyond any doubt which set of resolutions was adopted by the eager sons of Mecklenburg at their historic but vastly puzzling May Day meeting in Charlotte.

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Comment on Current Books

New York's Past Politics

In the preface Mr. Alexander explains that this work[1] was suggested to him by the difficulty he experienced in obtaining an accurate knowledge of the movements of political parties and their leaders in the Empire State. Such has been the experience of all students of New York's political history, and there is accordingly ample room for a treatise which represents the first attempt since the days of Jabez D. Hammond to give an adequate account of the intricate course of politics in a State that has so often played a predominant part in determining the political history of the Nation. For starting-point Mr. Alexander took the brief period intervening between the downfall of the Colonial government and the establishment of a definite State government under the Constitution of 1777. Back of this, interpreting the title of his work literally, he did not deem it necessary to go. It was apparent to him that, whatever other consequences followed the adoption of the Constitution of 1777, it had the immediate effect of introducing into the State the institution popularly known to-day as "bossism." The clause creating a small Council of Appointment to which the vast majority of civil functionaries would owe office not only invited but necessarily precipitated a struggle to secure a controlling voice in the decisions of the Council; and, more than this, it proffered opportunity for the attainment and retention of individual ascendency. The nearly half a century that this system remained in force sufficed, he perceived, to perpetuate it by tradition and custom, so that even after the Council of Appointment was legally swept out of existence it none the less continued to exercise its harmful influence on the politics of the State. Confirmation of this view was, in his opinion, forthcoming from the undeniable facts of the long-enduring preponderance and rivalry of a numerically small succession of political leaders. "It would be hard," Mr. Alexander explains, "to find in any commonwealth of the Union a more interesting or picturesque leadership than is presented in the political history of the Empire State. Rarely more than two controlling spirits appear at a time, and as these pass into apogee younger men of approved capacity are ready to take their places. None had a meteoric rise, but in his day each became an absolute party boss. . . . After the Revolution, George Clinton and Alexander Hamilton led the opposing political forces, and while Aaron Burr was forging to the front, the great genius of De Witt Clinton, the nephew of George Clinton, began asserting itself. The defeat of Burr for Governor and the death of Hamilton would have left De Witt Clinton in complete control, had he found a strong man for Governor whom he could use. In 1812 Martin Van Buren discovered superiority as a manager, and for nearly two decades, until the death of the distinguished canal-builder, his great ability was taxed to its uttermost in the memorable contests between Bucktails and Clintonians. Thurlow Weed succeeded De Witt Clinton in marshaling the forces opposed to Van Buren, whose mantle gradually fell upon Horatio Seymour. Clustered about each of these leaders, save De Witt Clinton, was a coterie of distinguished men whose power of intellect has made their names familiar in American history." These considerations induced Mr. Alexander to write his history almost altogether from the biographical point of view, and at the same time influenced him to present his subject chronologically rather than topically. Thus by far the greater part of his first volume deals, in logical succession, with the struggles between the two Clintons on the one side and Schuyler, Hamilton, Burr, Jay, the Livingstons, Tompkins, Van Buren, and the Albany Regency on the other. The second in like fashion discusses the leadership of Van Buren, Marcy, Wright, and Croswell as opposed to the leadership of Weed, Seward, and Greeley, and the influences that went to the shattering of both of the old parties and the formation of the Republican party. This last portion of the work is particularly well done, and arouses high anticipations for the third volume, in which Mr. Alexander hopes to continue the narrative to the year 1896. His style, too, is such as to increase the reader's interest in a subject that is in itself intensely interesting. Throughout he writes in a forceful, direct, picturesque vein, pausing when occasion offers to supplement his pen portraits and characterizations of the leading *dramatis personæ* by intimate glimpses of others who from time to time played more or less conspicuous parts in the political life of the State. At the same time, a certain degree of critical caution must be exercised if the student would utilize Mr. Alexander's labors to the best advantage. It must be realized, for instance, that he has

[1] A Political History of the State of New York. By De Alva Stanwood Alexander. Two volumes. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $5, net, per set.

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not wholly succeeded in escaping the dangers that beset the historian who insists on a too rigid adherence to the biographical method. Not always does he give adequate expression to the workings and consequences of extraneous and non-personal forces. He would seem, in especial, to have failed to appreciate the importance of developing the influence of New York City politics on the political history of the State. And, what is more important, it is to be feared that the emphasis he has laid on the factor of "bossism" will tend to cloud appreciation of other and nobler factors that have entered into the shaping of the fortunes of the State and the careers of its leading public men. Nevertheless, when all possible points of criticism have been raised, his work merits recognition, not merely because it is practically the only occupant of its field, but because it is in several important respects a soundly informing contribution to American historical literature, useful alike to the general reader and to the special student. It brings together a vast amount of significant data not otherwise readily accessible; it provides a comprehensive and readily apprehended view of what Horace Greeley described as "the zigzag, wavering lines and uncouth political designations which puzzled and wearied readers" in the years of Conservative Democrats and Radical Democrats, Hunkers and Barnburners, Hards and Softs, Conscience Whigs and Cotton Whigs, Woollies and Silver Grays; and it will serve as a helpful guide to future research.

"John" and the Acts

The first page of this concluding volume[1] of a valuable series exhibits a characteristic merit in its combination of conciseness and clearness. The Bible student is furnished with the results rather than the processes of laborious scholarship, but not without presentation of the grounds for the opinions pronounced. These are given partly in condensed Introductions to the books under study, partly in critical comments on the text. The general view taken of the Acts is that "it is history in the ancient, Oriental, religious, not in the modern, Occidental, critical sense." The Fourth Gospel is regarded as an idealization of material more or less historical by "an Asian Christian" of the second century, and is presented as such with the remark, "The truth of fiction may be most life-giving; it is the ideal which endures." The problem of this Gospel cannot be regarded as settled by the solution here offered; the merits of conflicting hypotheses remain for settlement by the survival of the fittest. Mastery of critical material, however it be interpreted, and spiritual appreciation of Jesus are alike conspicuous in this volume.

[1] The Johannine Literature and the Acts of the Apostles. By Henry Prentiss Forbes, A.M., D.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2, net.

Adelaide Ristori

Not long before Madame Ristori died in Rome, less than a year ago, she especially asked a friend whether he believed that such a book as her memoirs would, if translated into English, be welcome in the United States. She need have felt no doubt on this point, for nowhere was this great actress more cordially admired than in this country. Many lovers of acting and many playgoers whose feelings have been moved and whose ideals of dramatic art have been satisfied by the great performances with which Madame Ristori's name is inseparably connected will be pleased to have this interesting record of her life. She died at the age of eighty-four, so that, apart from her career on the stage, she had the opportunity of knowing the celebrities of the theatrical and literary world for a very long period. Among her friends were reckoned Salvini, Booth, Victor Hugo, Meyerbeer, Scribe, and many members of the royal families of Europe. Rachel was her contemporary and rival. The story of her life is here told in a simple and informal way, without boasting, but with intelligent appreciation of men and things. There are many portraits, not too well reproduced, unfortunately, and otherwise pains have been taken to make the book a literary memorial worthy of its subject.

The Greatest Truth

The author of this volume[2] of short discourses on the things of the Spirit is already known to many readers of The Outlook by some valuable books. He here speaks to the invisible church of all seekers after God. The great truth he has to utter is the immediate presence and power of the living Father of men, and the Christ-Spirit as their inspirer, transmuting all struggle into progress, and all seeming confusion and perplexity into order and light. Man is unfinished; each of us is still in the making; let each of us with a filial spirit yield entire trust to the divine Organizer of life. "Each individual is unique; therefore each must learn in a special sense that 'I and my Father are one.'" It is an uplifting book; it sees things whole, with God in all; it emphasizes the demand of our own highest ideals—

"Be thou the true man thou dost seek."

[1] Memoirs and Artistic Studies of Adelaide Ristori. Rendered into English by G. Mantellini. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $2.50, net.

[2] The Greatest Truth and Other Discourses and Interpretations. By Horatio W. Dresser. Progressive Literature Company, New York.

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Ministries of the Poets

This volume of lectures[1] to the students of Chicago Theological Seminary effectively shows how the best modern literature proclaims the fundamental truths of religion. As President Strong, of Rochester, showed some years ago in his work on "The Great Poets and their Theology," the modern preacher has in the poet an ally of whom he does well to avail himself. The minister and the minstrel have this in common—they are interpreters of human feelings, the deepest of which is that feeling for the infinite which goes under the name of religion. In these lectures the great English poets of the nineteenth century—Shelley, Wordsworth, and Coleridge in its earlier part, Arnold, Tennyson, and Browning in the later—are seen marshaling spiritual forces against the materialism of an age intoxicated with its new mechanisms, and scornful of decaying dogmas. In many a notable passage they bear witness to the fundamental truths of religion —God indwelling in the world and incarnate in humanity, his voice in conscience, the inevitable doom of sin, the hope beyond the grave. Perhaps the best specimen of Dr. Gunsaulus's work is his analysis of Tennyson's greatest poem, "The Idylls of the King," which appeared at a time when "conscience was perishing in the test-tube of science and the ratiocination of philosophy." In the next imprint apostle should be substituted for "apostate" as a designation of Edward Irving.

The Heresy of Job

As one of the great poems of the world, Job is well worthy of the ornate form in which this quarto volume[2] presents it, with over twenty full-page illustrations, designed and engraved in 1825 by William Blake, the poet. The text is in large type, and is critically edited with adequate notes for ordinary readers. The title adopted by the editor points to a deeper interpretation than that which is commonly put upon the poem, as a mere discussion of the problem of evil occasioned by the sufferings of a righteous man. The contention of Job's friends, says Mr. Coutts, is "that religious tradition [that suffering proves the sufferer to be a sinner] must outweigh experience." This was what Job vehemently denied. "His ordeal was nothing less than a temptation to accept an idea of God that he could not honestly accept, instead of continuing to seek God for himself." His "heresy" was that he withstood the representatives of traditional orthodoxy in vindicating his right to seek God in another way than theirs, and to construct his own theodicy. The keynote to this conception of the point at issue is given in chapter xiii. Lord Bacon and Coleridge remarked upon it. It gives this ancient poem a closer applicability to the present time.

An Efficient Church

This is a helpful addition to modern works on practical and pastoral theology.[1] Its specific difference from others of its class is in its starting-point. It is the fruit of inquiries presented for years by a questionnaire. This is presented in the appendix, and its results are brought out wherever pertinent to the points made in successive chapters. The crucial point of inquiry is, Why is the church not more efficient? The answers given are from the people who fill or fail to fill the pews, and, as summed up and appraised by the author, give point to tonic counsels. Altogether it is a wise and strong book, yet it is open to the charge of allowing a distinction between "the moral life" and the religious life which, though sanctioned by popular usage, is not sanctioned by the Christian ideal of either, as essentially one life, not static but dynamic.

Evangelism

By "evangelism" Dr. Goodell means "the aggressive propaganda of the Christian life." He has carried it on for a quarter-century most effectively. In two years after his coming to Calvary Methodist Church in New York its membership rose from fourteen hundred to twenty-four hundred. In response to a wide demand for the secret of such success he writes this book[2] for pastors who would realize the same. It is mostly "a record of fact and conviction wrought out in the thick of the fight." Dr. Goodell considers that the business of evangelism is with religion rather than theology, but that "we are to make use of the accredited facts of scholarship" for the cause of truth. It is "life, not theory," life, not doctrine, that requires emphasis now. Inspirational, practical, methodical, this is a helpful book for the development of latent Christian power.

Unbelief

In this volume[3] a distinguished historian of the Church and its doctrines reviews the various theories—philosophical, quasi-scientific, theological, ethical, critical—which since the time of Kant have more or less radically antagonized the

[1] The Higher Ministries of Recent English Poetry. Frank W. Gunsaulus, D.D., LL.D. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.25, net.

[2] The Heresy of Job. By Francis Coutts. With the Inventions of William Blake. John Lane Company New York. $2, net. Postage, 15c.

[1] An Efficient Church. By Carl Gregg Doney, Ph.D, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.25, net.

[2] Pastoral and Personal Evangelism. By Charles L. Goodell, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1, net.

[3] Unbelief in the Nineteenth Century. By Henry C. Sheldon. Eaton & Mains, New York. $2, net.

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beliefs of the Church. These theories are first stated and then criticised. Both the statement and the criticism are presented in compact and lucid form, for a vindication of Christian belief. The author's standpoint is conservative, but not extreme. He concludes that while the nineteenth century has rigorously tested Christian beliefs, and modified them to some extent, they have been fully vindicated in their fundamental features. The entire discussion is fair-minded and instructive. The point of criticism to which it is most liable is in the use of "miraculous" and "supernatural" as equivalent terms—a common mistake, than which none is more fruitful of confused thought in current controversies.

The Courage of the Coward

The volume of discourses which takes this title[1] from the subject of the first of the fourteen assures Dr. Aked of a wider welcome to our country than even that which he has already received. Utterly free from conventionalism, fresh in thought and phrase, dynamic with earnest conviction of reality, they speak from the experience of one who knows the world, sees things whole, understands men, and, having thought through their deepest problems, would lend a hand to any who are doubting, erring, falling. Thus, without being exactly evangelistic, they are vitally evangelical in their adaptedness to the spiritually deaf or blind or lame in this year of grace. As Dr. Aked says: if we have abandoned many beliefs that our fathers held, it is only because "they have been displaced by something richer, more fruitful, grander."

Wayfarers of the Bible

History as given in the Old Testament is here[1] outlined in an account of successive journeys, from the departure of Adam and Eve out of Eden to the visit of the Eastern Magi to the cradle of Jesus. The moral and religious lessons suggested by the experiences of the "wayfarers" are well drawn and pointedly put. In other respects it is impossible to say as much. The Marble Collegiate Church on Fifth Avenue, New York, is a surprising place for the announcement—common in the South before the Civil War—that Ham, the son of Noah, was the ancestor of the negroes, and that his sin was visited upon them in their enslavement. After this one can hardly be surprised at the statement that Solomon gave "the scroll of Ecclesiastes" to the Queen of Sheba, or at the hostility to the present consensus of scientific and critical learning which infects the book.

Letters to The Outlook

AN EARLY DOCUMENT IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Americans have been congratulating themselves that a representative of the United States at the Hague Conference has done more than any one else to turn its deliberations to practical uses. This is in keeping with historic precedent. When the idea of international arbitration first became conspicuous—at the seven Peace Congresses between 1843 and 1853—it was known as "the American Plan." The American most closely identified with it, at home and abroad, was Elihu Burritt, the "learned blacksmith" of New England, the story of whose development seems, to a generation unfamiliar with it, a veritable romance of the intellect and character. The translation of Icelandic sagas, the publication of linguistic and humanitarian journals, were employments apparently remote from the Worcester forge at which Burritt earned his daily bread; but his activities were to carry him still further. The Peace Congresses of Brussels in 1848, Paris in 1849, and Frankfort in 1850, owed much of their successful organization and conduct to the work of Burritt.

In 1849 George Bancroft was finishing his term as Minister to England. Elihu Burritt was making ready for the Paris Congress, and to Bancroft, as the most conspicuous American in Europe, it was natural for him to turn. The following letter, preserved in the files of Bancroft's correspondence, tells its own story. Its publication at this time has a peculiar fitness, not only because the letter gives an authentic and full account of the achievements and ideals of the early peace advocates, but also because of its bearing upon the present situation. Undoubtedly the objects of the early Congresses seemed nearer than sixty years away to Burritt and his associates. But the "High Court of Nations" for which they were working must have seemed, even to impassioned reformers, a far more distant dream than it does to-day. Yet even with a "Tem-

[1] The Courage of the Coward, and Other Sermons. By Charles F. Aked, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.25, net.

[1] Wayfarers of the Bible. By David James Burrell, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1, net.

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ple of Peace" preparing to receive the Court and the cause, the forward steps are slow. With "the powers" represented at The Hague are joined, as Mr. Dooley has recently reminded us, "manny iv th' weaknesses." Powers and weaknesses do not blend in the most rapid of agencies for progress.

This is the letter from Burritt to Bancroft:

Bedford Hotel, Rue de l'Arcade, Paris,
April 21, 1849.

Hon. and Dear Sir: For several months past I have been intending to solicit a personal interview with you, for a few minutes, for the purpose of submitting to your consideration some facts connected with the Peace Movement in England, the United States, and the Continent. I am happy to believe that you are already aware of the existence of such a Movement, but perhaps not in its present phases, organization, and progress. Permit me then to adduce a few facts, which may serve to give you an idea of the present posture and prospects of the question.

Almost before the smoke and the echoes of Waterloo had died away, societies for the promotion of permanent and Universal Peace were organized, almost simultaneously in the U. S. A., Great Britain, and the Continent. But the *first one* was formed in New York, and was succeeded by others in different states of the Union and in different countries. Some of the greatest and purest men in America gave their adhesion and advocacy to the cause, such as the Patriarch of Peace, the venerable Dr. Worcester, Dr. Channing, William Ladd, and others, with whose labors you are familiar. For years the *sowing* season lasted, in which these devoted men sowed by and upon all waters the seed-kernels of Peace.

When the public mind had been somewhat prepared by this rudimental education, the friends of Peace in America were anxious to elaborate and present to the world some practicable plan for the abolition of *war* as the arbiter between nations. Consequently they offered a prize of $1,000 for the best essay upon the feasibility and efficiency of a *Congress and High Court of Nations* for the honorable and pacific adjustment of international disputes. This plan, peculiarly *American* in its development, was elaborated with great ability in the essays produced on the subject under the stimulus of the prize to which I have alluded. *Five* of these essays were bound up in one large volume, a copy of which has been presented to almost every crowned head in Europe, and one deposited in almost every public library in the United States. Gradually the friends of peace in America have concentrated their activities upon this measure, and have tried to induce our Government to urge it upon the different governments of the world, and to invite their co-operation. The Legislature of Massachusetts has memorialized Congress several times upon the subject; that of New York has done the same. In 1843 there was a great "World's Peace Convention" in London, at the instance of the American Peace Society, at which the proposition of a Congress of Nations was discussed, and recommended, as the most efficient measure for the abolition of war. The London Peace Society took several hundred copies of the American Prize Essays, which it has distributed freely in England and upon the Continent.

In 1844 I established or rather commenced the publication of a newspaper in Worcester, Mass., called the "Christian Citizen," devoted to the dissemination of the principles of Peace and human freedom. This was the first paper of the kind published in America. Its circulation has gradually increased and extended through all the Free States. But as my mind became more and more interested in the cause, I sought a more efficient medium of disseminating its principles than my journal would afford. I therefore adopted a plan of operations which was crowned with unexpected success. I wrote a short article upon the subject of Peace, of about the third of a column's length, and had several hundred copies of it taken on *slips* surmounted by a dove with its olive leaf. These printed slips or "*Olive Leaves for the Press*," I sent to all the newspapers of the United States, nearly 200 of which inserted the articles, frequently as original. During the Oregon Question, I was able to bring the subject of Peace before perhaps 2,000,000 of individuals in America through this medium. I came to England in the steamer which brought the news of the settlement of that serious controversy. My principal object in visiting England was to associate, or to organize into a union, the friends of peace on both sides of the Atlantic.

A few weeks after my arrival I presented the basis of an international association, under the title of "*League of Universal Brotherhood.*" The platform and principles of the society were readily adopted, and it now numbers about 20,000 adherents, or members, on each side of the ocean. Perhaps you may be disposed to glance at the facts connected with the origin and progress of the Association presented in the enclosed "Olive Leaf." For the first two years of my sojourn in England I devoted myself principally to the organization of League Societies in the different towns, as working agencies which might all be concentrated upon some great and practical measure for the promotion of universal peace, and "the brotherhood of nations"—a term which I never heard before you employed it in a lecture delivered in Philadelphia in 1842, which I listened to with the deepest interest. And permit me to say (parenthetically) that the idea of "*the brotherhood of nations*" which you expressed on that occasion sunk deep into my mind and germinated there until 1846, when I tried to give it practical development, on both sides of the Atlantic, in the "League of Universal Brotherhood."

About this time last year I came to Paris to see if it would not be practicable to hold a convention of the Friends of Peace in this metropolis, about fifty highly respectable persons in England having expressed their willingness to take part in such a meeting if it could be held. I was here on the memorable 15th of April, when the streets were thronged with 150,000 armed men, called out to overpower an expected movement of the socialists. Owing to these inauspicious circumstances it was thought best to defer our Peace Convention until the month of August, and to make it a more impressive demonstration than we had at first contemplated. I therefore returned to England, and spent several weeks in securing delegates from different towns in the Kingdom. For this purpose I went from Plymouth to Edinburgh, visiting most of the large towns, and succeeded in enlisting, provisionally, about 100 individuals to go to Paris. But when in Edinburgh, at the close of this *recruiting* campaign, news came of the terrible days of June in Paris, which seemed to render our convention there impracticable.

Determined, however, that the enterprise should not miscarry in consequence of these unlooked for disasters, I persevered, and succeeded in recovering most of the persons who had promised to attend the convention from the depression or *panic* which these circumstances were calculated to produce; and most of them agreed still to go to Paris, if the convention could be got up with safety and propriety. I thereupon returned to Paris to obtain the permission of the Government, and to make preparations for the convention. But new and peculiar difficulties accumulated in our way, and at last we were constrained to go to *Brussels*.

We had but a fortnight in which to make the necessary preparations. But everything worked to the success of the demonstration. The Government and people of Belgium were exceedingly cordial and helpful, and on the 20th of September the Peace Congress

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opened under the most favorable auspices. Nearly 160 persons from England were present, and there were delegates from almost every nation on the Continent. Practical measures for the abolition of war were proposed and discussed with great ability and good will. Hon. Francisque Bouvet, member of the French National Assembly, Professor Bertinatti, of Turin, and myself, developed the plan of a Congress and High Court of Nations. At the conclusion of the Brussels Congress it was resolved that another congress should be held, on a larger scale, in Paris, the following year, and committees were formed for the purpose of instituting preparations. An Address to the different Government and Peoples was also adopted.

Almost immediately after the return of the English delegates steps were taken in England to propel the cause of Peace into a powerful and universal movement. A convention of these delegates and other friends of Peace was held in London in October; a Peace Congress Committee was formed, and measures adopted for raising a fund of £5,000 to sustain the operations of the year. M. A. Visschers, President of the Brussels Congress, was present at this convention, and subsequently attended a series of magnificent demonstrations in London, Birmingham, and Manchester, for the purpose of ratifying the proceedings at Brussels, and of accepting the Congress as a *fait accompli* in the progress of humanity. The operations of the year were divided into two campaigns, one *home*, the other foreign. The *home campaign* consisted in a grand agitation of the popular mind in England in favor of a motion which Mr. Cobden engaged to bring forward in the House of Commons for the institution of *Arbitration Treaties* between England and all other countries. For the last three months we have been stirring up the whole kingdom with public meetings in connection with Mr. Cobden's motion. Rev. Henry Richard and myself, as secretaries of the Peace Congress Committee, have attended about fifty of these public meetings, and other deputations of the Committee have been out almost constantly, arousing the public mind. Petitions adopted at public meetings have been pouring in upon Parliament in favor of Mr. Cobden's motion, which is to be brought forward in a few days.

Having concluded the "agitation" in favor of Mr. Cobden's motion, the Peace Congress Committee has just entered upon the second and most important department of its operations, and Mr. Richard and myself have just arrived in Paris for the purpose of breaking ground for our great demonstration, or Peace Congress, which we hope will transpire in August next, in this Metropolis. We have come here to assist at the organization of a grand central committee, which shall co-operate with the English, American, and Belgian committees already formed, in preparing for the Congress in August. Lamartine has expressed the warmest sympathy with the movement, and we expect he will preside at the Congress.[1] Mr. Cobden has agreed to be present, and we expect that 20 or 30 other M. P.'s will give us their presence and co-operation. The English Peace Congress Committee propose to institute a kind of General Election of delegates, upon an equitable basis of representation, by which all the considerable towns shall be represented in the Congress. It is also intimated that the election or appointment of the delegates shall be ratified at public meetings, in order to give them weight and a species of authority. We now propose that the delegation from England shall number about 500 persons, of high moral character, standing, and worth; representing, perhaps, 200 or 300 towns.

Now it is felt to be of the utmost importance to the movement that America should take the lead in it, and that the Congress in Paris should not only be a convention for the discussion of great principles, but that it should be a kind of *fraternization* between the Old World and the New; a demonstration at which Europe and America shall shake hands in the sight of the world. The Congress of Nations Committee in the United States are now canvassing for delegates, and we hope that the appeals and addresses which may be sent them from Paris will stimulate their zeal. We hope they may be able to charter a steamer and freight it with 100 good men and true, delegated to represent the nation in the Congress. The presence of such a delegation from America would be most auspicious, and would make a profound impression upon the whole of Europe. They would give the Congress a *Catholicity* which would raise it, and the cause of peace, to a sublime position.

I am confident that no American can have a clearer perception than yourself of the part which America should act in this great day of the nations. I have therefore ventured to submit to your consideration this detailed exposition of the facts connected with the progress and present posture of the Peace Movement. I have stated, perhaps, all that I should have done at a personal interview with you. And perhaps the perusal of this long communication might be better suited for your leisure than such an interview. I have laid before you these facts, hoping that you might be disposed to give whatever sympathy, countenance, and assistance to the movement that would be consistent with your exalted position. If circumstances should permit you to be present and to participate in the proceedings of the Congress, it would be a subject of congratulation to the delegates from America and England. The association with Cobden and Lamartine in such a great enterprise of humanity would, I am sure, be in sympathy with your genius.

If your Excellency would be so good as to send me a note of introduction to any parties in Paris whose position and influence would be of service to us in advancing our objects, I should indeed be very grateful to your kindness. We have a letter from Mr. Cobden to Léon Faucher, but I should be much gratified with a kind of *general* note from you, testifying that I am a countryman of yours, and entitled to whatever consideration may attach to an American citizen.

Begging that your Excellency will pardon me for thus venturing to say all in a written communication that I had proposed to say at a personal interview,

I remain yours
Most respectfully,
ELIHU BURRITT.

To His Excellency
George Bancroft.

Bancroft's reply to this letter is not found. Early in August, 1849, he was in Paris, completing his collection of historical documents from the French archives. On September 1 he sailed from Liverpool to America; and, if for no other reason than the press of final arrangements for departure, it must have been impossible for him to take any active part in the Paris Congress.

M. A. DE WOLFE HOWE.

[1] Victor Hugo, not Lamartine, presided at the Paris Peace Congress of 1849.

THE PRAIRIE SCHOONER

In a recent article on the Pacific Northwest your contributor makes reference to the "prairie schooner" as a thing of the past. However true this may be for that region, it does not hold good for the Southwest, where as great a transformation is going on, but quietly and almost unheralded by the railway advertiser and the land boomer. During the eight months thus far elapsed of this year more than fifteen thou-

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sand families have established their homes in eastern and southern New Mexico, and fully half of these have journeyed to their new homes in "prairie schooners." The worst of the old-time hardships may have been eliminated through the building of roads and the partial settlement of the intervening territory, but the present-day prairie schooner is far from being a "luxurious camp" wagon. Also, when you consider that a large proportion of the immigrants are poorly provided with money, that they bring their families, all their household goods and live stock, that many of them are coming to a region of which they are nearly as ignorant as a New York slum dweller, and that many of them travel six hundred miles or more, you will see that the spirit which made possible the settlement of the Mississippi Valley is not all dead.

It has been my fortune to be in a region eighty miles long and thirty broad that a year ago, eight months ago even, was inhabited only by widely scattered ranchers and Mexican sheep-owners, and since then has been invaded by an army of immigrants a thousand strong. To my own knowledge at least half of these came by "prairie schooners" from the following States: Texas (southeast portion), Oklahoma, Indian Territory, Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, and one from southeastern Georgia.

LLOYD P. UPTON.

Salano, New Mexico.

"THE AMERICAN FRUGAL HOUSEWIFE"

That was the name of my grandmother's cook-book—the popular cook-book of seventy years ago. Here are some of the good things it contained, with gleanings from others:

Every member of a household should earn and save. The aged can knit, and so can the children. It is better that children should be picking blackberries at six cents a quart than wearing out their clothes in romping. . . . Children and old folks can braid straw for their bonnets and hats. . . . Where turkeys and geese are kept they can make feather fans and hearth brooms of the left wings. Don't throw away the right wings; they can be used by the left-handed.

It is bad economy to buy eggs as you want them. Laid down in limewater they can be kept three years.

If you live in a city, get a friend in the country to furnish you with butter, lard, and eggs when they are cheapest. Put them down for winter use.

Buy your woolen yarn from some one in the country you can trust.

When feather beds get heavy, empty them into a tub of suds; wash thoroughly, and spread them in the attic to dry.

Rags of all kinds should be carefully saved. Waste paper brings one cent a pound; a penny saved is a penny earned. Save the backs of old letters to write upon [that was before envelopes]. If your children are learning to write, buy a coarse white paper by the quantity, and keep it locked up, ready to give out for writing-books. That will reduce the expense of paper greatly.

Hard gingerbread is good to have in a family—it keeps so well.

Good housekeepers will make their own Rochelle salts. They are quite as good as what they will pay five times as much for done up in papers.

A spoonful of ashes stirred in cider will prevent sickness at the stomach.

Excepting for company, nutmeg can be well dispensed with in making fritters.

Preserves are unhealthy, expensive, and useless to those in good health. Economical people will seldom use preserves except for sickness.

The cheapest meat to buy is that which will go farthest when cooked.

If you have more currants than money, make your own wine.

If you must buy butter and lard, short-cake is not economical. If you have a plenty of sour milk or butter-milk, it is well to make short-cake for supper.

Never break eight eggs for a custard pie when six are enough for any common use.

Before making a wedding cake, let your purse decide sensibly which of the three recipes for wedding cake you will follow. These are: "A Rich Wedding Cake," "A Still Richer Wedding Cake," and "A Good but Common Wedding Cake."

The index of the old-time cook-book must have been a more severe test of the tempers of our grandmothers than of their sensible frugality in choosing a wedding cake, or even a mince pie. Index-making was then in its infancy, and to find anything in a hurry by the topical index of an old-time cook-book was no easy matter; for the index recalls the signboard set up in a maze of cross-roads telling bewildered travelers only where they were *not* to go.

JANE MARSH PARKER.

THE BLIND AT WORK

I have read your paragraph on the academic education of the blind (Outlook for August 31). The subject keenly interests me. I feel that one phase of the situation ought to be pointed out; namely, that after the blind or partially blind person leaves college he is often perplexed to find anything to do. A young man graduated from a leading Canadian university this spring, with first honors in French and German and with recommendations from all the members of the faculty of modern languages; he was also two thousand dollars in debt; but he has found no position as teacher, although many of inferior equipment and character are well provided for. Another young man spent a year most creditably at a college in this State, where he was editor of the college paper; he is now raising squabs—not the life-work which in younger days he had set before him. A third—a graduate from a leading State Normal school, a man of exceptional capacity and character, of extraor-

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dinary mathematical proficiency, has never been able to secure a position as teacher in any academic branch. A fourth, pursuing a university course principally in history, in which his work was entirely satisfactory (he had been doing graduate work after his second year of residence), was advised to modify his aspirations, as the faculty would find it very difficult to place him in any public school or college.

It seems impossible to sighted people that a blind man can possibly go into the classroom and successfully conduct a class. Yet blind people are constantly doing the "impossible." It is true that there are successful blind teachers, but these have generally been compelled to prove themselves geniuses before they could get a footing. That is too hard a test to impose on them. The simple truth is, given as fair an opportunity as the sighted teacher, the capable, educated blind person will find ways and means of conducting classes in mathematics, in history, literature, philosophy, and like subjects, just as well as, perhaps better than, the teacher having sight.

I cannot here detail some of the methods that such a teacher would pursue, but I may observe that the blind college graduate would bring to his work as teacher a memory well stocked with the "material" of his subject; that he would have a firm grasp on this material; that if he would require more head work and less pencil work on the part of his pupils (following his own systems), it would be a good thing; that in matter of discipline, the respect of the pupils for his position would offset greater opportunity for mischief (mischief has been known to occur even with sighted teachers in the chair); that for work which he absolutely cannot do for himself, others will always be at hand to help out.

The blind person suffers from being an object of pity, of curiosity, of wonder. He would like to stand on the same footing as other people, on his merits. He would like to have the opportunity of working for himself and family. It is unusually expensive for him to attend college; for instance, that portion of Green's "English People" covering the Puritan Period, which has been printed in braille, costs about six dollars. Myers's "General History" costs twenty-one dollars. He must have amanuenses. If he can secure such necessities, he is under no disadvantage in his college work. With his hand "slate," he can take notes on lectures more rapidly than his sighted classmate; with his writing-machine for one of the point prints he can take notes on what he reads more rapidly than a skillful typewriter can operate his machine. He remembers what he learns—in the main. He is more likely to abstain from social diversions and devote himself to study. Thus he leaves college well equipped intellectually, and not disqualified physically, for some useful work in life on which he has set his heart's desire. It is then that bitter disappointment not infrequently comes to him. The public will not believe that he can do what he knows he can do if given a fair chance. The failure of a few should not be prejudicial against all.

Elsie, Michigan. L. A. C.

BEES IN THE TROPICS

I have just seen letters you have published about bees not making honey in the tropics, and they make me astonished. I live in the tropics. This place is 15½ degrees north latitude. And your correspondents cannot say it is even a dry place. It is one of the rainiest in the world. None the less, there are bees in the woods here, and they make honey. The Indians get the honey from the trees; and, besides, often have their own beehives. The honey and the wax are articles of trade. And there are foreign bees in the country, and they make honey. They make it in Cobán, which is high up and cool; and they make it in Cajabón, which is low and hot. I send you a photograph of hives of Italian bees. It was taken in Rabinal, a town of the Baja Verapaz, by gentlemen of the United States Office of Agriculture, on one of their late expeditions. The hives are lengths of hollow palm trunks, laid side by side on a table under a shed; the table-legs are in dishes of water to keep off ants. The ends of the hives are open, and you can see the honeycombs. Rabinal is a little further towards the equator than this place is, and happens to have the climate of an oven. R. B.

Senahú, Alta Verapaz, Guatemala.

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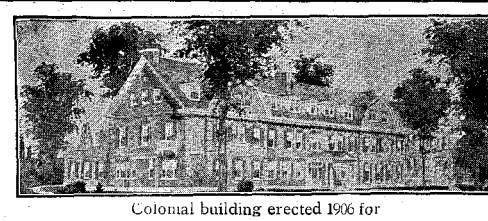

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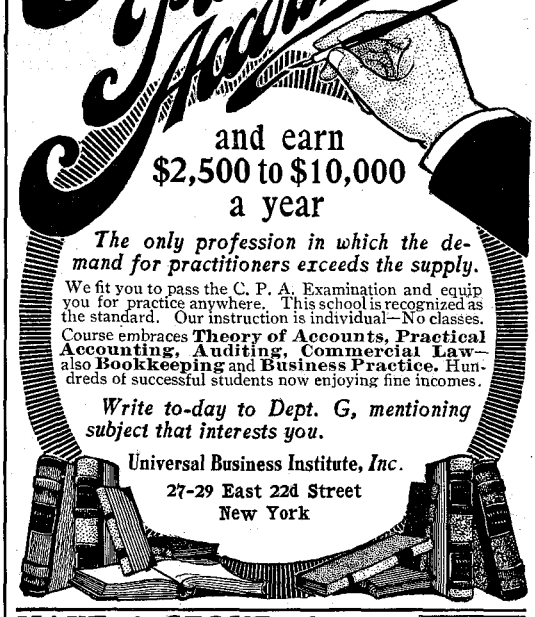

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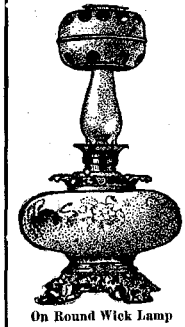

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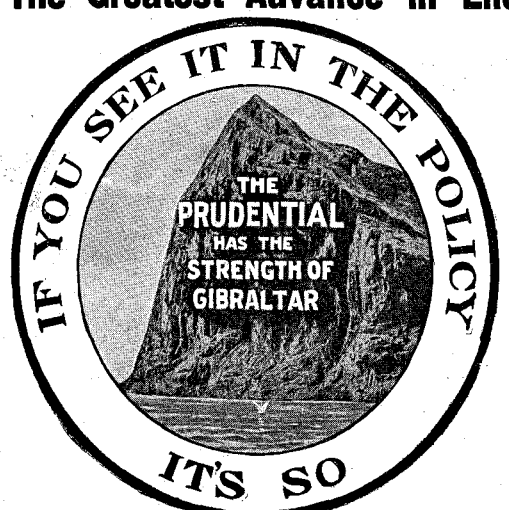

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